ENTROPY AND EXCLUSIVITY: GENDER AND CHANGE IN THE RETAIL ENVIRONMENT, ALEXANDRIA, EGYPT (1970-2011)

by

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ABSTRACT

As one of the most visible signs of the modern world, the myriad of shopping places and types can be considered as a valuable lens through which to examine the contemporary city. In Alexandria, Egypt, the situation was particularly interesting because retail space was moving in two polarized directions: exclusivity and entropy. First, there was an emphasis on creating high-end restricted modern space while at the same time, low-end retail, both modern and traditional, were proliferating and becoming less organized. The high-end modern retail created exclusive spaces in which traditional forms of gendered space could be upheld, although in a reconfigured manner. On the other hand, the proliferation of lower-end retail space allowed greater female participation in consumerism but in an increasingly insecure situation. Insecurity took many forms including lack of personal safety, price volatility, unpredictable earnings, and an unreliable supply of goods. This dissertation will examine how the retail spaces in Alexandria affected gendered space and how ideas about space were reconfigured to allow women to navigate the modern globalized world without abandoning their status or virtue. This research specifically targets the difference between the shopping mall, as the embodiment of high-end retail, and the urban shopping street, as popular retail space. Through these two environments, we will see how they are defined in opposition to each other, particularly in terms of status, and their appropriateness for women, and how they are gendered differently. Specifically this research will examine the extent to which the

genders mix, in terms of goods sold, shoppers, and shop workers, as well as the extent to which women are allowed privacy. This will show how the retail environment of Alexandria responded to its citizens' desires to be modern and globalized through both the creation of exclusive spaces and devolution into chaotic zones.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 2007, Mohamed Ansary announced to his Arabic students that he would show them "the real Alexandria." I expected he would show us some secret *suqs* or unknown mosques hidden in Attarine (one of the oldest districts), and I was quite disappointed when the fieldtrip ended at an upscale café in Green Plaza Mall. The open-air style mall was so similar to Salt Lake City's *The Gateway* that its resemblance to a contemporary American mall was anticlimactic. However, for upwardly mobile, internationally oriented Alexandrians, the modern shopping mall was far more representative of their reality than the deteriorating section of the old city. This began a series of questions in my mind to reexamine the city and how it should be understood in the context of the modern world.

As one of the most visible signs of the modern world, the myriad of shopping places and types can be considered as a valuable lens through which to examine the contemporary city. In Alexandria, Egypt, the situation was particularly interesting because retail space was moving in two polarized directions: exclusivity and entropy. First, there was an emphasis on creating high-end restricted modern space while at the same time, low-end retail, both modern and traditional, were proliferating and becoming less organized. The high-end modern retail created exclusive spaces in which traditional

forms of gendered space could be upheld, although in a reconfigured manner. On the other hand, the proliferation of lower-end retail space allowed greater female participation in consumerism but in an increasingly insecure situation. Insecurity took many forms including lack of personal safety, price volatility, unpredictable earnings, and an unreliable supply of goods. This dissertation will examine how the retail spaces in Alexandria affected gendered space and how ideas about space were reconfigured to allow women to navigate the modern globalized world without abandoning their status or virtue. This research specifically targets the difference between the shopping mall, as the embodiment of high-end retail, and the urban shopping street, as the popular retail space. Through these two environments, we will see how they are defined in opposition to each other, particularly in terms of status, and their appropriateness for women, and how they are gendered differently. Specifically this research will examine the extent to which the genders mix, in terms of goods sold, shoppers, and shop workers, as well as the extent to which women are allowed privacy. This will show how the retail environment of Alexandria responded to its citizens' desires to be modern and globalized through both the creation of exclusive spaces and devolution into chaotic zones.

Major Historical Events in Modern Egypt Relating to Retail Development

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the central business district and department stores of Alexandria were very much oriented towards Europe and France in particular. This began to change in the mid-twentieth century with the rise of nationalism before the 1952 Revolution. Department stores, which were primarily owned by Jewish

families who had strong ties with Europe became vilified as non-Egyptian entities, while stores owned by "ethnic Egyptians" became proud manifestations of Egyptian nationalism. The irony is that the "Egyptian-ness" of a store was not based on the origin of the goods, but the ethnicity of the owner, and thus commerce continued to have a global dimension, even during the period of revolution and nationalism (Reynolds 1999/2000, 91). After the Suez Crisis (1956) most of the department stores were sequestered and nationalized because they were "identified as typical foreign capitalist interests, and undesirable symbols of foreign and bourgeois conspicuous consumption" (Kupferschmidt, Who needs 2007, 175). After nationalization, department stores declined in status but continued to serve the Egyptian population especially in the purchase of durable goods. Thus, as retail space expanded beyond the traditional *suq*, it became even more important both socially and politically. The effects of politics on the retail environment were even more pronounced after the *Infitah.* Beginning in 1974, Anwar Sadat (1970-1981) instituted political changes to open the economy and reverse Gamal Nasser's (1956-1970) socialist policies. Egypt switched orientation from the Soviet Union to the West including a capitalist agenda. The *Infitah* policies encouraged foreign investment (including modern factories which often dominated local production) and opened the way for importing large amounts of foreign merchandise (which also competed with local goods). In addition, Sadat attempted to reduce government subsidies, sometimes with riotous results, such as the bread riots after attempts to raise the price of bread. Under Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011) the economic liberalization policies were continued and in the 1990s many of the government-run sectors were privatized. Most subsidies were removed (except for bread, cooking and mineral oil, sugar, and gas),

tariffs on agricultural products were greatly reduced, and social security such as a Nasser's guarantee of a job for every university graduate were slowly abandoned (Ibrahim and Ibrahim 2003, 94-99). This economic liberalization resulted in the construction of high-end shopping malls, international brand name stores, and cheap Asian consumer goods. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the Egyptian retail sector was well integrated into the global consumer culture.

Both political and economic changes affected retail space in Alexandria, but by far, the greatest transformation in retail space was caused by the introduction of shopping malls. The malls introduced a higher-level of shopping space that was thoroughly modern. Within these new modern spaces, the way in which space was gendered reflected modern ideas about space, women, and social life, but did not abandon traditional principles. Instead, traditional ideas about space were folded into the retail life and created a reconfiguration without obliterating traditional ideas.

Gender, Space, and Shopping

Traditionally, space was considered to be divided into a male/public sphere and a female/private sphere. This conception of space manifested itself in three relevant postulates: domestic space belongs to women while public space is reserved for men; men and women mixing should be avoided to preserve morality and family honor; and female social life is welcome as long as it occurs outside of public view. This idealized conception of gendered space was neither possible nor desirable for almost all women in modern Alexandria, but because these ideas were associated with home and status, they colored concepts of gendered space, even in the contemporary city.

The genius of the shopping mall was the creation of a space which felt separated from the outside world and surrounded the visitor in an upscale environment, thus reinforcing status and morality. The space was perceived as a place which was secure, exclusive, upwardly mobile, homelike, and blurred the line between public and private space. Frequently Western critiques about shopping malls seek to expose the "false public" nature of mall space, but in Alexandria, the private and controlled nature of malls was exactly what made them so desirable, especially for women. In essence, malls became an extension of the home, where women could go to reinforce their status, to manage their households through shopping, and to socialize appropriately. Thus, malls provided opportunities for women to participate in modern consumer society without being subject to the degradation found in the street.

Street shopping, on the other hand, had an entirely different trajectory. The shops, department stores, markets, "cabinet vendors," and street peddlers inhabited a space which has been in the process of degrading. Unlike the American suburbanization phenomenon, the central retail districts of Alexandria were not vacating. Instead, there was an increase in the number of retail establishments as more shops and vendors inhabited the same space and alternatives to mall shopping remained extremely desirable. These goods offered on the street were usually of lower quality and price which allowed a larger segment of the population to participate in consumer culture. Although popular, street shoppers were also subject to more physical and economic insecurity. Thus, the retail space outside of malls increased in fragmentation, deterioration, and chaos; or entropy. The shopping street was also gendered entirely differently than the mall, even though they were both products of modernizing forces. In the street, the space was less

controlled and more gender-integrated, but these factors resulted in an area which was less female-friendly. Although this area could be considered more free, there were fewer accommodations for women to have privacy, such as female-staffed clothing stores or security personnel who protect against sexual harassment. While the freedom of the shopping street was not beneficial to women's status or honor, it was the only option to participate in consumer culture for a large portion of the population.

Although moving in divergent directions, the mall and the street worked in tandem to support the consumer society. The mall relied on the street because it was defined in opposition of the street: a place which is separate, safe, modern, and upscale. Whereas the street continued desirability in opposition to the mall as a place where everyone could patronize and find affordable versions of mall goods. Both the street and the mall were affected by global trends, but each adapted to modernity differently. In the street, there was a relaxing of regulations and conventions which resulted in increased challenges for women while the mall attempted to reinforce certain ideas about gender in order to generate a desirable upper-class environment.

Overview of Sources

Scholars have accomplished a great deal of research on modern religious spaces (mosques, churches, synagogues) and residences in the Middle East, but little work has been devoted to retail space, and especially shopping malls. This is surprising since in the Western world and the United States especially, there is a rich body of professional literature about shopping space and abundant writings critiquing retail space, especially the shopping mall. The only scholar researching retail space and consumer culture in

Egypt is Mona Abaza, from the American University in Cairo, who disparages of the uncritical approach to consumerism in Egypt. She notes "That Egyptians have changed their consumer habits is evident, but no Arab sociologist has gone through the painful process of analyzing these transformations. Yet this is worth looking into in the Middle East; consumer studies are still mistakenly considered as a trivial field by Arab academics" (Abaza 2006, 44). Additionally, there is a small but emerging body of work covering consumer spaces in the Middle East. The geography with the highest concentration of new studies which touch on consumer space are located in Cairo, presumably because of the concerted effort of Cairo-centric scholars like Diane Singerman and Paul Amar whose book *Cairo Cosmopolitan* coined the term the "Cairo School of Urban Studies" in 2005. Since then a number of rich studies dealing with social and economic life in Cairo have been published with a large number coming from the American University in Cairo Press.

The existing research leaves a large number of scholarly holes which this dissertation intends to begin filling. First, my research responds to Mona Abaza's call for increased scholarship about consumerism, consumer culture and consumer spaces in the Middle East. Second, urban social research in Egypt is dominated by Cairo. Although Cairo's size and complexity provides a rich research environment, Alexandria has mostly been excluded from this type of research. As Egypt's second largest city, and containing more than 4 million inhabitants, Alexandria also provides fertile ground for urban research and provides a counter point to Cairo-centric research which implies that Cairo is representative of the entire country. One notable exception is Samer S. Shehata's *Shop Floor Culture and Politics in Egypt* in which he conducts an ethnographic study by

personally working in factories in Alexandria (Shehata 2010). By studying Alexandria, research can show alternatives which may confirm or contradict conditions in Cairo and thus provide a fuller idea of the general conditions in urban Egypt. Third, urban studies of Alexandria have been sadly neglected since the late 1960s. The cosmopolitan period, which lasted from about 1830-1960, and was considered a second high point of Alexandrine architecture (after the Greco-Roman period) but since this period, the city has been maligned as being in decline. Fourth, gender and its relation to shopping and to Middle Eastern cities is often oversimplified. My research seeks to complicate the view of gender by examining it through field work rather than rhetoric. Finally, this dissertation hopes to integrate architectural and social science approaches to consumer spaces to better understand how the built environment and identity interrelate.

It is only by accident that the time period of this research corresponds with the presidencies of Anwar Sadat (1970 – 1981) and Hosni Mubarak (1981 – 2011). The beginning date was chosen to include the period just before the economic *Infitah* policies which started the "opening" of the economy and integration into the global economy. This becomes important as many of the issues raised by my research relate to the globalization of the retail sector and the desire to be incorporated into the world economy. My research concludes at the end of January 2011 when I completed my field work exactly two weeks before the beginning of the Egyptian Arab Spring Revolution ousted Mubarak on February 11, 2011.

Sources on the Retail Sector in Alexandria

Primary Sources. Government Reports. The primary documents for this research included official government reports, industry reports, interviews with mall managers, interviews with citizens, site visits and people counts. The government reports include official data[1] about the shopping centers from the Alexandria Governorate. The most useful document is "Alexandria Province Statement of Mall," dated January 6, 2011. The statement includes information on sixteen shopping centers in Alexandria ranging from the large international-style malls to small malls. The data includes floor area, number of floors, number of stores, area of shops, number of cinemas, capacity of cinemas, hotels, residential complexes, spaces for food, recreational areas, number of parking spaces, direct cost, cost of finishing shops, total cost, number of jobs provided and the opening date. The information is fairly complete and accurate (as verified by site visits). When this data was in conflict with other sources, it has been noted. Additionally, the governorate reports on markets[2] including the number of formal and informal workers as well as the products sold were also useful, although to a lesser extent because much of the data did not correlate with other sources or was too general to be usable. Unfortunately these reports were only available as print outs of the current situation (January 2011) and reports from previous years were not available. While the lack of comparable data from several years would seem like devastating deficiency, in this case it is not as grave as it would seem. Because of the relative newness of the shopping malls,

[1] The word "data" will be used as a singular noun consistent with common American usage and the New York Times Manual of Style.

[2] The government report on markets (*suq*) refers to open-air markets. The Arabic word *suq* can be used to indicate a collection of retailers including a traditional market as well as a shopping center. This dissertation uses *suq* only to describe a permanent roofed market where vendors sell from stalls, niches, or small shops.

there was little change in their physical structure since initial construction so even if data had been available for several years; it would have been the same each year. The locations of the open-air markets were also very stable. Markets do not appear to have commenced or closed with any frequency. It would have been valuable to have yearly data about the numbers of workers to show increase or decrease in the size of the markets, but unfortunately, only data from 2011 was available.

Retail Industry Reports

Industry reports come from two main sources: the International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC) and newspaper/periodical articles written for the business community. Among other things, the ICSC produces a global directory of shopping centers which contains quantifiable data about all shopping centers, especially their size, opening date and subsequent remodeling/additions dates, format type, owner/leasing agent, and notable tenants. This information is usually accurate but because the data is acquired through self-reporting, it is not verified. For example, one of the mall managers questioned the veracity of the posted size of Green Plaza Mall which seemed artificially inflated by including outdoor plazas in its size tabulation. The numbers, particularly square footage, are not exactly the same as those listed by the governorate. This implies that the ICSC and the government reports use different sources for their data, but most of the data is within the margin of error. Where possible, the numbers used in this research are the result of two different sources which confirm each other. Where irresolvable conflicts occur, they have been noted. The newspaper/journal articles present an evolving commentary on shopping malls and express the ideas at a certain moment in time. One of

the problems with the newspaper articles is that they tend to discuss future projects and announcements which often vary from what actually occurs. The news articles are correlated with government reports, industry reports, interviews and field visits.

Interviews

Because of the dearth of written sources, interviews with current and previous residents of Alexandria were invaluable. Participants for this study can be roughly grouped into three categories: industry professionals, general citizens, and merchants (including store owners, shop clerks and vendors). A total of eighty-five people were interviewed. All participants were informed that the interviews would be recorded (with notes rather than an audio file) as part of my dissertation and a brief explanation of the research was given. Before beginning the interviews, all participants gave consent for their interview to be used as part of the dissertation. Identifiable information was separated from the interview information to ensure anonymity of the participants. Industry professionals were not promised anonymity and care was taken to obtain from them correct spelling of their names and title(s) so that they might be properly credited. In instances where industry professionals discussed their own experiences (in addition to professional opinions), these parts of the interviews were treated separately as if they were from anonymous participants and identifying information was stripped from the interview. Almost all interviews were conducted in person, but a few participants were contacted via internet (email, Skype, Facebook, chat) for follow up questions and two participants responded entirely through the internet.

Industry Professionals

The industry professionals consist of educated people from the upper-classes who worked as architects, planners, engineers, and in retail management. These individuals were specifically targeted for inclusion because of their positions and were sought out purposely. The majority of this group was male. Occasionally, they referred me to an assistant for interviews, which was often female and fluent in English or French. In general they were very articulate and aware of local and global trends. Of the three groups of interviewees, their information correlated most accurately with other local, national and international sources. They seemed to have a good sense of history and understanding of complex events that affect the present situation. The retail professionals were very aware of their competition and what other malls were doing. As anticipated, all managers' dialogs favorably portrayed their own shopping center or mall and there were significant variations in the relative ranking of malls' status by mall managers. Interviews were generally conducted in a combination of English and Arabic with some being entirely in English and others almost entirely in Arabic, and occasionally in French. The language of conversation was dependent on the preference of the participant.

Citizen Interviews

The second group of participants, citizens, was selected by using the snowball method. Beginning with people I knew, I invited them to participate and suggest other people who might be willing to participate. Because of this method, most of this group consisted of middle-class and upper-middle class educated people with a vast majority being female. Being outside of the retail profession, this group provided important

insights about human aspects of retail space. Additionally, they were reasonably aware of history, although specific information such as dates was sometimes inaccurate. For this group, time was more accurately marked by events such as The October War, marriage, graduation from university, and the birth of children. Interviews for this group were conducted in a combination of Arabic, and English and occasionally French.

The citizen interviews are particularly important for understanding why certain trends occurred and how they were perceived. This was one of the least accurate sources for dates since most of those listed are inaccurate. The trend was for events to be dated as much older than other sources indicate. One attempt to overcome this was through asking what age an interviewee was at the time of a particular event or memory. This has a higher success rate but is still fairly inaccurate. Where interviewees gave inaccurate dates or their information was conflicting, it is noted in the text. One of the most problematic aspects of citizen interviews was in trying to talk about change and transformation. In general, informants could discuss the current situation and a situation in the past. This became a binary discussion between now and one specific past. It was very difficult to get informants to talk about the specific steps in changes or evolutions. Another problem in interviewing citizens occurred when asking specific questions about gender. Alexandrians were eager to demonstrate how equal both sexes were and how both were equally represented. There was an emphasis and pride about the fifty-fifty division of any subject. One example came from a shop selling "Islamic" clothing for women including *abayas* and face veils. The shop keepers insisted that 50% of the customers were male and 50% female – exactly half-and-half. Although it is probable that men do shop at this store, I never observed a single male customer in several visits, so it is improbable that

men represented half of the customers to that shop. People were so adamant about the completely even distribution of gender that I quickly learned to ask different questions. Instead, I asked about each informant's personal experience, noting their gender, but not mentioning it.

Vendor and Sales Personnel Interviews

The third group, vendors and sales personnel, was the most diverse in background and outlook. Participants were approached in their places of business which included shops, permanent markets, periodic markets, the street/sidewalk and small shops associated with the former. Because the bulk of the sellers were male, extra effort was taken to include voices of female vendors. Thus, the proportion of women participants was far greater than their representation in the group as a whole. After attempting to interview vendors of all ages, I discovered that male vendors over fifty years, had a better understanding of their business and were more analytical. Older vendors who owned shops, all of which were male, were the most analytical and had the greatest understanding of the history of the business and area. In the Women's *Suq*, several of the older owners shared stories about the history of the *suq* since its inception. The medium age vendors (thirty-five to fifty years old), both men and women, seemed to have less of a sense of the business in general than their over fifty counterparts, and only understood the goods that they sold. For both of these groups, time seemed to be binary rather than a continuum: now versus then. When asked about the past or history, most participants compared the present to some (varying by participant) specific time in the past. Even with prodding and additional questions, it was nearly impossible for this group to discuss

multiple pasts or changes in the past. The youngest group, those in their early twenties or upper teens, seemed unable to discuss the past or understand changes through time. Even when asked to compare their situation with that of their parents, most participants had nothing to contribute or said that it was the same. They appeared to live only in the present, even if they had been working for several years. Surprisingly, many of the vendors were educated, especially younger vendors, many of whom held college degrees. Interviews were conducted primarily in Arabic with occasional English. Many of these interviews were conducted with a native Arabic speaker to help with the colloquial language and to be more socially appropriate when interviewing male vendors in the street at night.

Recording Methods

In recording interviews, exact quotes are rarely used because conversations were not audio-recorded. Instead, as we talked, I took notes and then usually transcribed later that day to fill in the missing phrases from the notes. Quote marks are only used when an exact quote is noted. The text is very close to the original but has often been translated into English by me or had minor grammatical revisions when given in English. Most of the ages of informants are estimations based on life miles stones such as graduating from university, age of children, or number of years of working. The age of the informant was generally not asked but when participants offered information about their age or year of their birth, their exact age was used.

Site Visits

Site visits were conducted for almost all of the shopping centers and malls listed in the governorate report. Those which were not visited were not overlooked but proved to be unfindable. At least one of the malls (Imperial Plaza) has closed but the others had never been heard of, even by lifelong citizens of Alexandria. Sites were visited to conduct interviews, to carryout people counts, to compare data with reality, and to go shopping. The three international-style malls were each visited for pleasure/shopping in addition to research visits. Sites were visited at various times during the day and week but were most concentrated in the afternoons and early evenings. This means that the data reflects more people who were shopping rather than those hanging out on weekends. Although malls generally open at mid-morning, very few people were shopping until mid-afternoon. Even at noon (before and/or after prayer), in the smaller malls many of the shops were still closed. Visits were generally conducted alone but occasionally with one or more friends. These tended to be in the evenings or on weekends.

People Counts

Performing people counts was the most gender specific method employed in this research. The purpose was to examine the gender composition of the visitors, shop clerks and merchandise. A total of 5,247 people were counted through a variety of methods.

To determine the relative percentages of gendered merchandise a store by store survey was conducted in malls and on shopping streets, whereby the gender of goods was noted. The categories for each shop included men's, women's, children's or non-gendered merchandise (such as household décor, electronics, gifts, and books). Gendered

merchandise includes clothing, shoes, purses/bags/wallets, glasses, perfume/cologne, and cosmetics. After trying several different methods in the malls, I found that it was best to use a map (either one provided by the mall or one sketched by myself) and to mark the gender next to each shop. This ensured that shops were not missed or duplicated. Shops were surveyed for the gender of their goods whether they were open or not since all were visible through store-front windows. This method was determined to be more accurate than using mall guides because the mall's gender categories were different from my own and most of the smaller malls did not have maps. These surveys were only possible to complete with the permission and support of the management and thus, not all malls could be surveyed this way. Once a mall's survey was completed, it was not repeated. For some malls, it took several days to complete the survey. The same method was used to survey Saad Zaghloul Street but it was accomplished over several different days. No survey of the gender of merchandise sold by street vendors was undertaken because the vendor's presence was not consistent, due to different numbers of vendors selling by hour and by day.

To determine the gender make-up of the shop workers, another shop by shop survey was conducted. When this survey and the merchandise survey were done on the same day, they were recorded separately because of the complexity of the data. Each shop was examined to determine the number and gender of workers on the sales floor. There are several limits to the precision of this survey. Because each mall was only surveyed once, it does not reflect the total gender situation but only indicates the composition at the moment of survey. Second, workers who were in dressing rooms or away from the sales floor were not counted. Shops which were closed at the time of the

survey were not included. For the shopping street, many unsuccessful methods were tried, but it was not until January 2011 that I discovered a successful method of recording the data. Unfortunately, this coincided with a bombing of a Coptic church and the New Year so many of the shops were closed, thus limiting the amount of data collected. The easiest group to count was the street vendors because of their visibility in the street. A total of forty-four separate counts were made of vendors, primarily on Saad Zaghoul Street. The counts were conducted between late afternoon to 11pm on both weekdays and weekends. Vendors within established markets were counted only on one occasion each. The goal of this survey was to see how much gender mixing there was in the workforce, what percentage of workers was female, and how much the gender of the merchandise corresponded with the gender of the workers.

The third survey endeavored to show the composition of shoppers and how the genders interacted. To accomplish this, two methods were used: live people counts and time lapse photography. For live people counts, I chose an unobtrusive location with a good vantage point, preferably on an upper floor of an atrium where people from different levels could be viewed simultaneously or a second floor cafe. Counts were taken in five minute increments over the course of thirty minutes from a single vantage point. This was then repeated at different times of the day and different days of the week. For time lapse photography, I selected a similar location with a good vantage point and set my camera on a table or ledge to be less conspicuous and to keep a consistent view. Photos were taken approximately every thirty seconds for thirty minutes. The gender and number of people in each group was recorded. For the shopping street, the number of people and their movement made it impossible to do live people counts, although I made

many attempts. Instead, large numbers of photographs were taken along the street. These photos date from June and July 2007, January, March, April and December 2010, and January 2011. They were taken throughout the day, from midday to midnight. Because these live people counts and photographs collect data differently, the raw numbers cannot be relied upon for comparisons but both serve to illustrate the proportional relationship between the genders. In both of these methods, it is probable that several individuals or groups were counted more than once so the raw numbers are also not reflective of actual foot falls. Although the larger malls kept data about footfalls, none of them included information about gender and I could not obtain access to security video recordings.

Although not all people counted were in the process of shopping, they were all within the shopping space. The following people were not included in the counts: security guards, police, repair and construction workers, shopkeepers, people in cars or on moped, beggars, deliverymen and vendors. Children were also not included. Almost no children were visible during the day and only a few at night. If the gender of a person was not clearly distinguishable, that person was not included in the count, but the tradition of headscarves and long hair for women as opposed to short hair for men made gender identification relatively easy. People counts were not undertaken in the department stores because there were so few people present that it would have been difficult to get an adequate sample. Nor were counts taken to determine the composition of groups on the street such as was done in shopping malls which showed how many people shopped alone, in couples, in single-gender groups or in mixed-gender groups. While many such groups were apparent in the photographs, most were obscured and it was impossible to reliably determine the composition of the groups.

In counting the gendered merchandise on the shopping street, two methods were used. Based on photographs from April 2010 of the entire length of Saad Zaghloul Street from Midan Orabi to Mahatat Ramleh on both sides of the street, the initial determination of gendered shops was undertaken. Then in December 2010 and January 2011, the gender was verified by an in-person store by store review.

Secondary Sources

There is a rich body of sociological and architectural research on shopping malls and retail space, particularly in the United States, but very little critical research on modern retailing in Egypt or the Middle East. Because almost nothing has been written about commerce in Alexandria's central business district since the 1960s the literature review in subsequent chapters will discuss the relevant literature about 1900-1960s Alexandria to establish the character and practices in the space preceding the research period. The most valuable research on this topic was accomplished by Nancy Reynolds' dissertation entitled *Commodity Cultures: Interweavings of Market Cultures, Consumption Practice and Social Power in Egypt, 1907-1961* (Reynolds 2003). Although her dissertation focuses on the practice of commerce, it includes the best documentation of department stores and shopping streets in twentieth century Egypt and addresses Alexandria specifically. The other invaluable resource on consumerism in Egypt is the work of Mona Abaza, who authored *Changing Consumer Cultures in Modern Egypt: Cairo's Urban Reshaping* and other research on consumerism. As for the architecture and history of Alexandria, Mohamed Awad, founder of the Alexandria Preservation Trust and director of the Alexandria and Mediterranean Research Center, is the foremost expert.

Awad has authored or coauthored numerous books on the city and its architecture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and has an extensive collection of primary source documents and photographs about Alexandria's history. Robert Mabro, an economist from Alexandria has written several important articles critically examining the nostalgic literature and provides some important correctives to the memory of the city. Uri Kupferschmidt's research on department stores also provides some important data on the stores in Alexandria. Travel guide books include surprisingly little valuable information about shopping districts in Alexandria, but the nostalgic literature often includes interesting snippets of information about daily practice and shopping. Unfortunately, this body of writings reflects the experience of a small segment of the population: the upper-class and "foreigners" most of whom left by the 1960s. From their experiences, one can glean some additional information about commercial space in Alexandria.

Alexandria History and Architecture Sources

Alexandria's history during the Greco-Roman period has been of significant interest to scholars and much historical and archaeological research is ongoing. The second most researched period, that of "Cosmopolitan Alexandria" which occurred roughly during 1830-1960 when the city was oriented towards Europe, included a large population of "foreigners" and was rich in architecture and culture. Considered the apogee of Alexandrine history since the Greco-Roman period, numerous guides and architectural histories chronicle this period. The most famous guide, *Alexandria: A History and a Guide,* was written by E. M. Forster in 1922, and served hoards of visitors looking for ancient Alexandria. Although focused on the ancient sites, it also addresses

some of the then current city to help tourists navigate Alexandria. The seminal history of modern Alexandria by Robert Ilbert covers the urban history from 1830-1960. Similarly, the research directed by Mercedes Volait on the architecture of Alexandria covers roughly the same time period. Both are invaluable to understanding the cosmopolitan city. The ongoing research by Mohamed Awad, is doing impressive work documenting the urban structures but most of Awad's documentation concentrates on structures from the cosmopolitan period. Thankfully, the Alex-Med Center has been documenting memories and oral histories of the city so that the memories of its citizens are not completely lost. Unfortunately, very little scholarship has been done on the city after 1970, but the literature about cosmopolitan Alexandria, provides a rich foundation for the "globalized" Alexandria of my study, which, like other Egyptian urban areas became more integrated into global culture, for good and bad.

Chapter Summary

The first section of this dissertation briefly outlines the history of consumerism and the development of retail building types beginning in Europe and the United States. Chapter 2 explains how consumerism developed and how it is different from the acquisition of goods. Second, it explores the two major modern innovations in retail space: department store which began in Europe and the US in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the shopping mall which was an American invention of the mid-twentieth century. The outlines of these two retail building types show the effects of architectural design to increase sales and how women were targeted. Additionally, criticism of the results of architectural retail ingenuity will be discussed. Chapter 3

develops this theme by examining consumerism and consumer space in the Middle East in general and then specifically in Egypt. In particular, this section examines the social roles of retail space in the Middle East which includes gender specific issues as well as comparing the shopping mall to the bazaar.

The middle two chapters look specifically at Alexandria's retail space. Chapter 4 establishes the history of the modern city, beginning in the nineteenth century. It concentrates on three themes: the heart of the cosmopolitan city, the former elite shopping district beginning in the early nineteenth century; the history of each department store beginning in 1856 (in Egypt); and the history of the shopping malls (in Alexandria), beginning in 1997. Following the history, Chapter 5 analyzes concepts of space in Alexandria: the dialectic between upwardly mobile space and popular space, which are best represented by the contrast between the shopping mall and the street vendor. Secondly, it examines idealized or traditional notions of gendered space in the city especially as it concerns gender.

Chapters 6 and 7 analyze how the polarization of spatial status affected gender in the retail environment. Upwardly mobile spaces allowed women to assert their independence through inhabiting "public" spaces which could reinforce or elevate their status by incorporating "traditional" ideas about gendered space. Conversely, the popular spaces presented a number of challenges for women, but remained desirable. Chapter 7 not only examines the less affluent who could not afford to shop in elite stores, but also the upwardly mobile women who choose to brave the physical insecurity of street shopping. Finally, the conclusion examines how the different forms of retail space are

defined in opposition to each other, especially in terms of gender, and how both ends of the spectrum are used by multiple audiences for different purposes.

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MODERN SHOPPING SPACE

Introduction

Shopping in a consumer society implies more than obtaining goods. It fills social and emotional needs; retail design is developed to stimulate and fulfill these needs. The real innovations in retail space began in the nineteenth century as consumerism began to flourish in Europe and then the United States. The new forms of retail space were one of the key stimuli for the growth of consumerism. By marrying social space with shopping space, customers were enticed to spend more time in the stores which resulted in increased purchases. Retailers also became more sophisticated in how they presented and advertised their goods and purposefully designed displays to stimulate desire for more goods.

Consumerism

Consumerism is a distinct change in the way material goods are viewed. The earliest signs of consumerism can be found in seventeenth century Europe, but consumerism's development was hampered by poverty, a preference for traditional displays of wealth (rather than novelty and individual expression), and counter

consumerism campaigns (including sumptuary laws, and religious crusades against extravagance or innovation) (Stearns 2006, 10). In spite of these impediments, in the eighteenth century, conscious efforts on the part of shopkeepers spurred people to seek out goods in excess of their needs. "The consumer revolution was based on the realization by shopkeepers and consumer goods producers that wants and needs were infinitely stretchable, not confined to what was required to live up to conventional standards or to subsist" (Stearns 2006, 18). Shopkeepers and producers learned to use gimmicks to lure people into stores, increase their appetite for additional goods, and use advertisements in newspapers and magazines. By the middle of the nineteenth century, consumerism moved into its second phase which was more profound and widespread. Consumerism proliferated due to effective promotion by department stores, the expansion of available consumer goods, changing styles, and "consumer leisure" which required the purchase of goods to enjoy (Stearns 2006, 47-56). Initially, American consumerism was an imitation of European consumerism, but by 1850 the U.S. had nearly caught up to its European counterparts. Then it supplanted Europe as the leader in consumerism (Stearns 2006, 40).

Consumer societies are not simply those which consume goods, but ones where citizens take joy and pride in the act of consumption. In order for consumerism to flourish, it requires the consumer to have a desire for and capability to obtain goods for the sake of both novelty and prestige that comes from acquisition. Additionally, it also requires sellers and advertisers to promote their goods and fuel desire for more goods. Peter Stearns defines consumer societies thus:

> Consumerism describes a society in which many people formulate their goals in life partly through acquiring goods that they clearly do not need for subsistence or

> for traditional display. They become enmeshed in the process of acquisition – shopping – and take some of their identity from a procession of new items that they buy and exhibit. In this society, a host of institutions both encourage and serve consumerism, from eager shopkeepers trying to lure customers into buying more than they need, to product designers employed to put new twists on established models, to advertisers seeking to create new needs (Stearns 2006, vii).

This new way of perceiving material culture has become a hallmark of modern society. Stearns notes that "particularly outside of the West, it [consumerism] offers a sense of belonging to a larger whole, of gaining access to the up-to-date modern" (Stearns 2006, 154). Although the seedlings of consumerism began hundreds of years ago, consumerism is now seen as a part of modern society in the West and throughout much of the world.

As consumerism has been embraced by an increasing portion of the world, criticism, which began in the eighteenth century, has continued both in the United States and abroad. First, there were objections on moral grounds. The focus on acquisition of earthly goods is contrary to Christianity, Confucianism and Buddhism (Garon and Maclachlan 2006, 12)[3]. Second, there was a fear that consumerism's focus on individuality and display led to the "erosion of collective interests and exacerbation of social inequities" (Garon and Maclachlan 2006, 12). One fear was that by valuing individual expression, resources would be diverted from collective interests and welfare programs. Third, there were concerns about the effects of rampant consumerism on the environment and the wastefulness of such a lifestyle. Fourth, unbridled consumerism was seen, particularly in Asia, as an "American disease" which could infect and destroy economies through its extremeness (Garon and Maclachlan 2006, 12-14). While consumerism has been embraced around the world, there have been concerns that a

[3] There were fewer moral objections to consumerism in Islam as evidenced by respect for the merchant class. In Islam, morality meant that the wealthy were obligated to be charitable (Garon and Maclachlan 2006).

consumerist society is unsustainable and would inevitably lead to severe problems for obtaining resources, waste, environmental ruin, and social degradation.

Consumerism and Gender

As consumerism's influence grew, so did its gendered nature. The first gendered divisions developed in response to Romanticism which began in the late eighteenth century. Romantic literature extolled emotion, individualism and beauty. Women's role in creating beauty was emphasized as well as their role in creating a home which demonstrated familial affection. It became important for women to create homes through the acquisition of objects which "convey[ed] tenderness" (Stearns 2006, 32). This resulted in women's increased control over household goods and clothing but also disproportionate criticism both in the press and in the home (Stearns 2006, 35). "Many critics of consumerism focused on this gender angle, blaming merchants and advertisers for picking on the weaker sex and blasting women for being so vulnerable" (Stearns 2006, 62). It is important to note that although men spent less time shopping, they were also consumers and often spent more money on consumer goods than women (Stearns 2006, 62). Even so, by the 1890s, department stores were considered the domain of women because women were the predominant shoppers and there were significant numbers of female shop clerks. The presence of saleswomen often caused great concern for public morality. W.T. Stead of Chicago spearheaded the accusations that saleswomen were engaging in prostitution in late nineteenth century, but Elizabeth Beardsley's social-scientific study in 1907 found that these instances were quite rare. The few cases of girls "gone bad" indicate moral transgressions, but it is still unclear whether actual prostitution occurred (Lancaster 1995, 180-81, 187). Department stores had become so much a

female domain that in order to entice male shoppers they built men's shops or provided men's entrances (Lancaster 1995, 182).

Another gendered aspect of consumerism relates to shop-lifting. The Victorian Era saw a great increase in shoplifting. The culprits were not poor women, but typically from the middle and upper-classes for whom shop-lifting was a diversion. "Apologists for this middle-class female misbehavior stressed the 'innate weakness' of women which could be activated into criminality by the atmosphere of the store" (Lancaster 1995, 184-85). The growth of consumerism allowed women to become more involved in public life through shopping and working in retail environments, but they also took the brunt of the criticism. Women were blamed for being easily corrupted by material goods and for using their public presence for prostitution but there is little empirical evidence to support this.

The Development of the Department Store

As the first modern type of retail space, the department store actively encouraged and expanded consumerism which led to the uniting of retail and social space. Department store managers actively sought ways to draw customers into their stores and pass time within even though it meant devoting floor space to nonretail functions. Everything about the store, from the window displays to the interior organization was focused on stimulating desire for more goods.

Although there is debate about the definition of the first department store, it appears that the contenders arose in France, Britain and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century several large department stores were well established in each of the three countries. However, the retail

changes which led to the development of the department store started much earlier. Through the eighteenth century, guilds dominated buying and selling of goods. Their regulation kept the market segregated by type of goods so that shops could not carry a variety of merchandise. Prices were established through the cumbersome practice of negotiation and haggling between customer and merchant, and customers often paid on credit. This started to change as drapery shops began to offer associated goods such as silks, cloth, lingerie, hosiery and ready-to-wear clothing, which developed into *magasins de nouveautés* or dry goods stores in the 1830s and 1840s. These stores offered free-entry (no expectation of purchase), selling goods at fixed prices, cash payment, and a concentration on high turnover of merchandise (Miller 1981, 25-27).

In France, architectural changes in nineteenth century directly led to the development of the department store architectural typology which was then exported to Britain and the United States. Unlike in Britain, the streets of early nineteenth century Paris made promenading difficult. The streets were neither wide enough nor clean enough for strolling, and were considered dangerous to walk along (this was about a half century before Georges-Eugene Haussmann began to implement Napoleon III's plan to pave the streets of Paris and cut wide boulevards into the urban fabric) (Carmona 2002, 149-155). Thus, the retail arcade was developed (Figure 2.1). By creating an interior street covered with skylights, Parisians could enjoy promenading past a variety of small shops in a clean controlled environment (Henderson-Smith 2003, 56). Spatially, this changed three aspects of the shopping experience; it separated retailing from the street so that the interior of the shop was no longer adjacent to the exterior world; second, it created a transition space between shop and exterior; and it employed a spatial void

covered by a skylight. With these arcades also came restaurants, cafes, theatres and spaces for promenading which united social and retail space. The popularity of the French gallery was quickly recognized and exported (Henderson-Smith 2003, 56-58).

By the second half of the nineteenth century, French, British and American department stores adopted the idea of a central void and they were typically arranged around an atrium which was lit by a skylight. Unlike the French gallery, the atrium created a central focus rather than a long promenade for strolling. This focus established the opportunity to develop "theming" which acted as an organizing principle as well as a way to "educate" the customer about how to use different goods and encourage consumerism for more goods (Henderson-Smith 2003, 59-61). Merchandise was clustered together with similar goods around the atrium and throughout the store. Thus, goods for a dining room or bedroom were displayed together even if they came from different departments such as linens, furniture, cosmetics and appliances. Additionally, department stores sought to entice female shoppers through the construction of "scenes of luxury" which included reading rooms, buffet rooms, free art galleries, and plush powder rooms. These nonretail spaces were designed to draw people into the store and get them into the habit of spending time in the stores. The department store dominated the retail sector because it had a wide range of goods, included public space, had ample floor staff and became a destination in and of itself (Figures 2.2 & 2.3) (Henderson-Smith 2003, 78-79).

On the advent of the twentieth century, the department store was a well-established building and business type. The years 1909-1939 are considered the golden years of department stores. They became community centers; saw their market share

increase and their client base broadened; and drew huge crowds for their spectacular events such as theatrical productions, zoos in the toy departments, divers and gymnasts (Lancaster 1995, 5). As the economic troubles of the 1930s set in, department stores upped the ante in attempts to retain their market share, and hosted "crowd-pulling events" such as "Christmas grottos" and toy fairs along with over-the-top customer services such as "free wart-removal service, cricket bat oiling and umbrella rolling at the Oxford Street store" of Selfridges's London (Lancaster 1995, 96). The cultivation of social spaces drew more people into the stores and allowed the department store to become a more desirable destination. The range of goods, quality, prestige, customer services, and social spaces allowed department stores to dominate the retail market until department stores were supplanted by shopping malls.

1940s – 1960s

In the postwar period, the changing customer altered the emphasis for department stores. The 1950s shopping experience focused on efficiency and self-selection of goods (Lawrence 1994, 20). Department stores introduced more self-service options, used television advertising and reached out to the lower classes. In their attempts to attract lower classes, they began to rely more on branded goods and uniform fixtures which resulted in conformity among department stores (Lancaster 1995, 197-99). Plans were open, regular, and flexible. By contrast, the retail spaces of the 1960s were geared toward a more sophisticated shopper who rewarded novelty for novelty's sake. Curves and angles appeared to break up the rigidity of the "ultimately flexible" 1950's plan, and color was introduced everywhere. The goal was to produce "excitement and variety" in order to intrigue the customer. In terms of planning, the Center Core Plan was developed

where "effective, defined selling spaces at the center of the large building rectangle" acted as a core around which aisles could radiate. This plan dramatically altered store planning. Instead of an undifferentiated space throughout the whole store, designers of the 1960s articulated the space into individual shop-like spaces with the ceiling as a design element (Lawrence 1994, 27-37).

1970s

As shopping malls grew in number and importance, the 1970s downtown department store began downsizing because of the rising dominance of its suburban branches. In order to remain cost effective, downtown department stores shrunk in physical size and shed non profit-making service departments. They were not the only type of urban retail space to see a decline. Central business districts all across the United States felt the pull of suburban shopping as it siphoned off customers. As people and commerce left downtowns, cities looked for ways to revitalize their centers.

In terms of design, the 1970s emphasized the theatrical aspects of store design. The designers used dramatic lighting, ceiling articulation and a variety of scaled spaces to create drama. The central core planning gave way to "zone-and-cluster" planning which created areas within the store for similar merchandise and allowed the manufacture of "moods" which related to the merchandise. Although there was an emphasis on variety and modernity, "a kind of international, ubiquitous, corporate store style emerged" across America (Lawrence 1994, 38-49). The attempt to create a modern commercial space resulted in a universal style which caused department stores across the United States to look similar.

1980s

In the 1980s store planning became increasingly theatrical and designers attempted to create a "signature-style" for their stores to set them apart from the competition. The displays presented "preselected, coordinated themes and expressions of life-styles" which allowed them to reduce their inventory in favor of more targeted color coordinated displays (Lawrence 1994, 56). One of the points of design focus became the escalator which "as the geometric center of the store, became more and more lavish. Open spaces surrounding imaginative, sculptural arrangements of the escalator trusses, connecting bridges, skylights…became the celebratory centerpieces for the design statement" (Lawrence 1994, 56). The first escalators were installed in 1898 in Grands Magasins du Louvre in Paris, Bloomingdales in New York and Harrods in London (Lancaster 1995, 50) but soon, these spaces were deemed essential, even if they subtracted from profitable selling areas. Thus, the theatrical planning of the department store even pervaded the structure and vertical circulation (Lawrence 1994, 51-59). In an attempt to revive their past luxury and respectability, some department stores in the 1980s attempted to return to the splendor of the past of their flagship stores. For example, in 1987 Harrods renovated its Knightsbridge store to its turn of the century style. Soon Bon Marché, Marshall Field's and others followed by revitalizing their historic facades and interiors (Lancaster 1995, 200).

Suburban Growth: from Shopping Center to Shopping Mall

Because the shopping mall was born a century after the department store, malls were able to incorporate the knowledge base from modern retailing into their design and become the dominant retail form. Shopping malls quickly learned to use the same

techniques employed by department stores to lure customers. First, malls used nonretail functions such as restaurants, cafes, exhibitions, cinemas and leisure activities to draw customers and entice them to spend more time in the mall. Second, the goal of their spatial planning centered on increasing profits. Third, malls were planned to be convenient, comfortable and project an air of sophistication or stylishness. As malls began to rise in popularity (1950s – 1980s), department stores began to wane, partly because malls provided the same advantages as department stores but on a much grander scale, but also because traditional department stores received competition from other types of stores such as discount department stores and large discount chains. However, this waning of prestige for department stores did not lead to their demise. Instead, department stores literally became incorporated into American shopping malls so that there was a symbiotic relationship between the two (as will be discussed below) and both malls and department stores employed similar retailing methods. Just as department store design became standardized and ubiquitous, shopping malls also obtained a corporate style which showed little variation or local influence. Since the 1980s the mall has remained the dominant retail form but has evolved new types within its typology, as will be discussed in this chapter.

Proto-malls

The original invention of shopping malls in the 1950s was an American phenomenon fueled by urban trends, such as the move to the suburbs, the automobile culture, and specific actors, most notably Victor Gruen who is credited with formulating the shopping mall typology. The Strip Center, the predecessor to the mall, grew up along suburban corridors to serve the movement out of the city center. This was followed by

design innovations which reoriented the strip center away from the street and created a central "mall" (Figure 2.4). The most significant development occurred when the shopping center and "mall" were enclosed and the shopping mall was born. As malls grew larger and increased nonretail amenities, they became a product of global design rather than an American typology.

In the 1950s the two most important innovations in shopping center design which contributed to the development of the first shopping mall were the creation of the "mall" space and department store anchors. As mentioned above, the "mall" space was first created by reorienting strip malls towards each other and creating an outdoor plaza between them. Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, two of the foremost shopping center architects explained that this new type center was not "strung along existing roads" like the earlier strip centers which hugged major streets. Instead the proto-malls "constitute[d] a new planning pattern of their own. This new environment is dedicated to the pedestrian" (Gruen and Smith 1960, 140). One prime example, Northgate Shopping Mall, Seattle, WA, 1950, designed by John Graham Jr., turned the traditional strip shopping center inside out by locating two strips facing each other. The space between the strips acted like a pedestrian street and came to be known as the mall or plaza. This proto-mall contained a Bon Marché store at one end of the complex and the other eighty shops included a bank, an A & P Grocery store, Ernst Hardware and Newberry's and Nordstrom's Shoes (Wilma 2009). Similarly, Old Orchard Shopping Center, Skokie, IL, 1956, designed by Loebl, Schlossman and Bennett, was designed around an outdoor "mall" space (Figure 2.5). It was typical of other centers which were also designed around a central open space and anchored by two department stores, in this case,

Marshall Field's and The Mayfair Department Store (renamed Montgomery Ward, 1964) (Westfield Old Orchard 2008). The department stores acted as magnets for these shopping centers to draw large numbers of customers who might also visit the smaller shops during the same shopping trip. The collection of large department stores, small shops and outdoor plazas created an innovative retail environment where people could shop in a variety of stores away from traffic.

During this period, the 1950s, the design of a shopping center was intended to maximize "commercial effectiveness" for the shopping center as a whole. "Magnet" or anchor stores would draw customers to them and thereby generate traffic past the secondary or smaller shops. In this way the architecture created a symbiotic relationship between the anchors and the boutique shops (Maitland 1985, 8-9). This was the design intent for Northland Center, designed by Victor Gruen and opened in 1954 (Figure 2.6). Hudson's department store, the anchor or magnet was located in the center of the mall (Hardwick 2004, 125). Other shops were located in a centripetal form around the anchor so that customers going to Hudson's would pass by the smaller shops (Maitland 1985, 9). The idea of using "magnet" stores was improved upon with the use of a "dumb-bell" plan where a department store was located at each end of the shopping center and smaller shops lined an internal "street." Additionally, centers could be designed like a T or L to accommodate 3 anchors or like a cross for 4 anchors (Figure 2.7) (Maitland 1985, 10). By locating the anchors at the terminus of the "streets" the rival stores were balanced so that neither had advantage over the other (Turbidy 2006, 10). These architectural forms were transferred to the next phase of shopping center development: the enclosed shopping mall.

Southdale Shopping Center and the Enclosed Shopping Mall

The real breakthrough in mall design occurred in 1956 with the opening of Victor Gruen's Southdale Mall in the Minneapolis suburb of Edina.

> Southdale opened its doors as the first enclosed shopping center in America, progenitor of the ubiquitous mall that in twenty short years would come to dominate retailing. With seventy-two stores on two floors, 810,000 square feet of retailing, 5,200 parking spaces, a soaring garden court, and two full-sized department stores, the $20-million Southdale was a wonder on many levels. Not only was it the ultimate and largest expression of retail's move to the suburbs, but as an enclosed shopping center, Southdale created an entirely new retail environment, a new commercial palace for suburbanites (Hardwick 2004, 144).

Just as the Parisian gallerias allowed shoppers to stroll in an environmentally tranquil space, Gruen built upon the then current retailing trends of magnet stores, central open spaces, and pedestrian "streets" to escape the harsh Minnesota weather by means of a wholly enclosed shopping center (Figure 2.8). Within a space which was comfortable year round, Gruen created a festive atmosphere with a central court which contained eating areas, held public events and hosted a children's zoo (Maitland 1990). These events were intended to draw crowds and keep people in the shopping environment. The location of the department stores at either end of the mall, kept these masses of customers walking past the other smaller stores. He even considered the convenience of access to the mall in an age which was fascinated by the automobile and hence, surrounded the malls with vast parking lots. Southdale Mall introduced several innovations which would define the mall typology for decades to come: enclosed climate controlled two story shopping center, multiple department stores as anchors, a "carnival atmosphere" in a central social space and copious amounts of convenient parking.

Exportation and Innovation

The shopping mall format proved to be enormously successful around the world. In Paris, the American style shopping center had become very popular by the late 1960s and new centers were being built along the newly constructed *autoroutes*. The French malls typically employed a two-story dumbbell plan with parking on each side. One of the major differences was that instead of American fast food restaurants, the French substituted cafes and restaurants with brick paved floors to imitate a street market. In the United Kingdom, there were planning regulations designed to limit "out-of-town development" which hampered a full adoption of the American model, but smaller versions of the French models were introduced in the 1960s (Maitland 1985, 19). Although the shopping mall was developed in the American Midwest, the typology proved successful throughout the United States and in Europe.

In the 1950s and 1960s, shopping malls adhered to strict design rules meant to ensure "maximum visibility" of shops by mall patrons. Corridors were long and straight and their width was limited to ensure that patrons could be enticed by both sides of the walkway. However, this began to change in the 1970s when designers broke the rules and discovered that they could introduce "multiple centers and irregular elements to make the space more visually complex and engaging" (Maitland 1990, 15-16). Store units became narrower to accommodate larger malls without significantly increasing the walking distance for patrons, who would be drawn through the mall through a series of courts or centers. At the same time as plans were becoming more complex, supporting infrastructure was being simplified in order to concentrate resources "up front" where they would be noticed by patrons. In particular the central spaces or courts received the

bulk of the attention and resources as architects pursued "the magical central space" (Maitland 1985, 29). Not only were the central spaces important for architects, but for mall managers, they represented the highest pedestrian traffic and the most valuable space in terms of rent for small shops (Maitland 1990, 47). At this time too, the courts became locations of vertical circulation expression. Designs reflected a need to draw people up to other floors through articulated vertical spaces. Architects employed dramatic staircases, cascading escalators, stacked escalators, spiral stairs and glass elevators. Banks of escalators and glass elevators became almost ubiquitous to the mall building type (Maitland 1990, 49).

After the construction of Southdale Shopping Center, the shopping mall proved to be very popular and multiple versions of this mall with the Dumbbell, T and L plans were constructed. From a typology standpoint, the late 70s and early 80s produced two important and enduring innovations: the vertical mall and the megamall. Ironically, the shopping mall, which had been associated with the development of the suburb, reintroduced innovative consumer space in the urban core through the invention of the vertical mall. Water Tower Place, Chicago, 1976 brought "modern" shopping back into the city (Turbidy 2000). Originally there were seven floors of shops, two department stores, restaurants, cinemas, underground parking offices, apartments and a hotel within a seventy-four story high rise on Michigan Avenue (Figure 2.9). The whole layout was set around a seven story atrium with glass elevators (Bennett 2005). Water Tower Place "remains the preeminent mixed-use project in the United States" and signifies that "the shopping center industry [has] returned to its urban roots" (Turbidy 2000). The vertical

mall denied both the horizontal and suburban nature of malls and allowed the typology to dovetail into urban centers.

The second major innovation was the megamall, which dwarfed regular malls in size and amenities. For example, West Edmonton Mall, in suburban Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, 1981 introduced the new typology with and initial construction of 1.1 million square feet and 220 stores. With three subsequent phases, in 2010, it contained 5.3 million square feet, over 100 restaurants and cafes, 2 hotels, over 800 shops, a 13 screen cinema including IMAX, the world's largest indoor amusement park, an indoor water park with the world's largest wavepool, a zoo, putt-putt golf, and other entertainment venues. Besides being a shopping destination, this mall became a tourist destination. In 2010, there were 28.2 million visits annually to the mall. This was seven times the population of the entire province of Alberta (West Edmonton Mall 2010). The typology was exported to the world and has had success especially in Asia, which now boasts 18 of the world's largest shopping malls, each of which enclose more than 3 million square feet (ICSC 2011). The success of these malls lies not in their size, but in their role as destinations. Just as department stores included salons and exhibitions, megamalls took the idea to the next level and entertained visitors with indoor amusement parks, ice skating rinks and aquariums. In order to keep visitors spending more time in the malls, they also included hotels and a wide variety of restaurants. The interior design of these malls emphasized the dramatic, theatrical spaces designed to blur the line between retail space and entertainment space. As malls increased emphasis on shopping as a destination, they also blurred the lines between shopping and recreational space.

Other innovations in mall typology such as power centers (dominated by big box stores), festival market places (which were typically built in old or abandoned nineteenth century industrial urban buildings to simulate a "European" market), and tourist malls (which were designed to house retail functions at a specific tourist destination and which often were designed around the theme of the site) impacted the retail environment as well, but since they are not related to retail practices in Alexandria, they will be excluded from this discussion (Maitland 1990, 25-36).

1980s Peak and 1990s Decline

The 1980s were the decade of the shopping mall where malls were considered ubiquitous and held an important place in American culture, as evidenced by the number of films which prominently featured malls as integral part of modern life[4]. 1989 marked the end of this period of great expansion. The Savings and Loan Crisis and over saturation of malls are credited with the deceleration of shopping mall growth in the early 1990s. New construction starts on shopping malls decreased 70% between 1989 and 1993 (Turbidy 2000). In 1993 a change in corporate structure gave new access to capital for shopping center owners. Simon, Taubman, and other privately held, family-run shopping center management and development companies became publically traded real estate investment trusts (REITs) (Turbidy 2000). Since the 1990s mall development has continued to advance but at a slower rate than in the 1980s (Soriano 1998). In the 1990s

[4] For example: Fast Times at Ridgemont High (1982), Valley Girl (1983), Back to the Future (1985), Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventures (1989), Night of the Comet (1984), Terminator 2: Judgment Day (1991), The Blues Brothers (1980), Chopping Mall (1986), Police Story (1985), Dawn of the Dead (1978), Commando (1985), Phantom of the Mall: Eric's Revenge (1989). The 1990s saw very few movies about or set in malls but the 2000s reintroduced the mall into popular film culture with movies such as The American Mall (2008), Paul Blart: Mall Cop (2005), Dawn of the Dead (2004), Mean Girls (2004), Mall Girls (2009), Bad Santa (2003).

there was a growth in the average size of shopping centers while individual stores, on average decreased in size (Baker 1998). Even with a financial crisis, shopping malls proved to be a durable retail typology.

Entertainment

In the early 1990s entertainment became (and remains) an important part of the shopping center design toolkit. Although the idea of entertainment has been a part of malls since before Southdale, mall entertainment became a spectacle and an integral part of the design and planning in the 90s. Michael Turbidy, research librarian of the International Council of Shopping Centers notes that

> as technological advances allowed shopping center developments to foster the same magical experiences that were once only seen in national amusement parks such as Disney World. Since the start of the entertainment wave, retailers have focused on keeping their presentations exciting and shopping centers owners have striven to obtain tenant mixes that draw traffic from the widest audience possible. Under one roof or in an outdoor retail format, consumers enjoy children's playscapes, virtual reality games, live shows, movies in multiplex cinemas, a variety of food in either the food court or themed restaurants, carousel rides, visually stunning merchandising techniques, robotic animal displays, and interactive demonstrations. Many shopping centers are also focused on added service-oriented tenants, which offer today's busy consumer an opportunity to complete weekly errands or to engage in a variety of other activities (Turbidy 2000).

The emphasis on entertainment is particularly obvious in megamalls which include ice skating rinks, amusement parks, zoos, and aquariums. These entertainment spaces not only generate profits for themselves but also act as a way to draw more people to the malls.

1990s – 2010: Peak and Crash

After a sluggish period from 1991 to 2003, there was a large spike in the total number of shopping malls in the U.S. that peaked in 2006. The financial crisis ended this boom in 2009. After that, growth levels were similar to the early 1990s, and in 2010 growth was lower than any time since 1975 (CoStar Realty Information, Inc 2011). In 2011, there were a total of 108,824 shopping centers in the United States of all types, of which 2,118 were regional, super-regional, lifestyle and outlet shopping malls (International Council of Shopping Centers Oct. 14, 2011).

Meanwhile, enormous retail construction projects were initiated throughout Asia and the shopping mall became an international building type rather than an American export. The megamall typology matured in the 2000s in East Asia and the Persian Gulf. Of the twenty largest malls in the world in 2011, all but two (Mall of America and West Edmonton Mall), were built in Asia. Just as the financial crisis hurt US mall construction, it also affected Asian malls, especially in Dubai which had been the leader in megamall novelty. Since the financial crisis, there has been a slowdown but not complete cessation of mall construction throughout the world and the mall typology once again showed its resilience (International Council of Shopping Centers 2011).

Shopping Mall Typology

The shopping mall has shown remarkable adaptability as a retail agglomeration type because the essential components can be combined and recombined to form effective selling spaces. Maitland codified the subtypes into four categories: open and enclosed centers; vertical centers; arcades; and atrium centers. The open and enclosed centers refer to an open "mall" space around which the shopping mall is organized. Old

Orchard Shopping Center is an example of this where the shops are arranged around open-air plazas. Second, vertical malls are multistory buildings designed for sites with limited land area and where the vertical circulation (such as escalators and elevators) of customers is the most important design challenge. Water Tower Place is a prime example of this type as the escalators and glass elevator atrium are the dominant architectural features. Third, the arcade type also includes larger gallerias such as Houston Galleria. The prominent architectural feature is "a linear, naturally-lit central space." Forth, atrium centers are designed around "a dominant centralized space" or a series of focal nodes. For example, in Northbrook Court Mall, Chicago, the two department stores are connected via a long corridor which is articulated by four atriums which serve as focal points to pull customers through the mall (Maitland 1990, 12).

The variety of subtypes makes clear differentiations between shopping centers and shopping malls difficult. Both are managed by a single entity (although they may be owned by one or more holding companies) and purpose built as architecturally cohesive developments in which individual stores or other tenants rent space. In general, a mall is a climate-controlled closed structure with entertainment, social and food components. Shopping centers, on the other hand, are an agglomeration of retail shops (with or without leisure tenants) usually under multiple roofs and having entrances to individual shops directly to the outside. Contrary to expectations based on the volume of literature about malls, they "have never comprised more than 5% of the total number of shopping centers. However, their size has assured that they occupy an outsized place in the popular imagination as the symbol of industry" (Turbidy, 10-11).

Comfort and Shopping Malls

In addition to the theatrical planning and entertainment, shopping malls have several other advantages in comparison to traditional shopping districts; namely convenience, consistency and comfort. Obviously the large agglomeration of stores is convenient for shoppers who can find a myriad of shops in a single location and with a single parking spot. Additionally, the layout of the mall, with its narrow shops and multiple levels reduces the walking distance between the shops. Another major advantage of the shopping mall is the central control which allows for a consistent level of decoration, maintenance and cleaning, combined parking, strategic marketing, uniform hours of operation, and contractual agreements with tenants which allow the management to enforce compliance with the overall center's goals. Additionally, management has control over the tenant mix which creates a retail environment most attractive to customers and to exclude undesirable tenants such as thrift shops or sex shops (Teller 2008, 385-6). This control extends to "atmospheric stimuli in public places, including smell, music, decoration or agglomeration layout and temperature" which can be controlled to create a more attractive atmosphere than motley conditions in an urban center (Teller 2008, 386). Lastly, comfort of shoppers works in tandem with the convenience of the mall as well as the benefits of a central management but also includes amenities such as climate control and public toilets. All of these conveniences and comforts contribute to a substantially more comfortable shopping experience, especially when compared to urban alternatives which may include extremes in weather, excessive walking, making multiple trips, unavailability of parking, and inconsistent hours of operation.

Security

Although mall security is charged with providing a safe environment, it is at least equally important for its ability to make people feel comfortable. Salcedo notes that the apparent lack of crime in malls, as opposed to on city streets, creates impression of security. "Security is often marketed as one of the most important characteristics of the mall" (Salcedo 2003, 1089). Because people consume more when they feel safe, "it becomes necessary to exclude or at least marginalize social groups considered to be nonconsumers or disruptive" such as the poor, teenagers, minorities and demonstrators (Salcedo 2003, 1089). In the U.S., the location of the malls outside of city centers and not connected to public transit is often enough to keep the poor away because the poor are often (unfairly) associated with theft, property damage and disorder.[5] Jon Goss, too, notes that while there is a genuine need (and right) to protect property, the presence of mall security is most useful in assuring customers' feeling of security and the exclusion of unsavory elements. "The key to successful security apparently lies more in an overt security presence that reassures preferred customers that the unseemly and seamy side of

[5] For example: the Fairfield Commons Mall in Beavercreek, Ohio, a suburb of Dayton, is part of a continuing debate about allowing city busses to stop at the mall. Since its opening in 1993, it has not been conveniently serviced by public transportation. As recently as March 2011, Beavercreek's City Council voted unanimously against allowing bus service to the mall. "Beavercreek citizens and City Council members feel the RTA stops could bring safety issues to the area" (RTA Bus Stop Application Rejected 2011). Comments on topix.com city forum under the subject "Beavercreek to solve the Fairfield mall bus issue!" were far less diplomatic and expressed one side of the debate. A commenter by the name Duke of Hazard stated: "Sorry, most normal civilized [black & white] folks want to keep that place safe and clean, and don't need more poor drunken drug-addicted shop lifters or carjackers who are mean; including drug thugs who cuss in public and act rude and crude like dudes. Businesses want profitable polite nice customers, not professional victims who boohoo, sue and whine about hate crimes." Similarly, eagle3 said, "We don't want loud, crude people at the mall." And commonwoman expressed concern that allowing bus access to the Fairfield Mall would result in similar crime and poor-management that occurred in the Salem Mall (on the West side of Dayton) which was considered a dead mall by the early 1990s and demolished in 2006: "the criminals must be kept away from all of America. doesn't matter what the skin color is. stop doing the crime. salem mall was a nice place until thugs and drugs put it out of business." On the other side of the debate, advocates have been pushing for public transportation access to the site and arguing that bus transport (poor people) does not mean an increase in crime. This debate has continued for more than two decades with similar arguments on both sides (beavercreek to solve the fairfield mall bus issue! 2012).

the real public world will be excluded from the mall. It is argued that the image of security is more important than its substance" (Goss 1993, 27). Second, security reinforces the appearance of safety by maintaining order in the mall. The mall's security is responsible for enforcing not only laws (such as laws against stealing) but also rules which contribute to a consistent and desirable atmosphere. For example, security enforces rules against playing loud radios, littering, staging protests and in some cases, against teenagers without parental escorts (Salcedo 2003, 1091). The irony is that while mall security is often charged with regulating a wide variety of actions, they have little real power and must rely on the police to make arrests or detain people. Using the example of Beavercreek's Fairfield Commons Mall again, the security personnel are prohibited from apprehending shoplifters, which must be done by store employees or the police. Also mall security provides limited physical assistance and must rely on the police. "Mall Security will stand by until the police arrive, but will only take action if personal safety is in danger to himself or herself or to any other person" (The Mall 2008, 27). Thus, security becomes an essential component of shopping malls, not because it deters crime, but because it is vital to creating an environment which induces customers to feel safe and consume more.

Critiques of Consumerism and Shopping Malls

Shopping malls have been blamed for exacerbating urban sprawl, creating undemocratic spaces and proliferating consumerism, but these are completely contrary to Victor Gruen's intentions. He envisioned malls as places which could "unite Americans and create new communities." By combining retail functions he dreamed of reforming America to reduce urban sprawl, increase retail profit and give "Americans a richer

public life." For him, "good planning and good business are in no way mutually exclusive" (Hardwick 2004, 4). For Southdale Shopping Center, he envisioned it as a part of a 500 acre district which would include apartments, office buildings and a medical center. This new "community" would contrast with gaudy commercial strips and urban sprawl by providing a professionally planned "pleasant place in which to shop, a good spot in which to work, and a fine neighborhood in which to live" (Hardwick 2004, 154).[6] Unfortunately, developers focused on the shopping malls and failed to implement the community-building aspects of Gruen's designs (Hardwick 2004, 144). Because Gruen's plans were never fully implemented, it is unclear whether his vision for new suburban centers would have resulted in dynamic urban space (in the suburbs) that he imagined. Yet it does seem clear, that Gruen's vision primarily focused on creating vibrant places for people to come together and enjoy the benefits of consumer culture. He concentrated on urban space and consumerism but was blind to many of the social effects of his creations. Whether justified or not, Gruen's name became synonymous with retail design and the term the Gruen Transfer or Gruen Effect came to theorize "that shoppers will be so bedazzled by a store's surroundings that they will be drawn – unconsciously, continually – to shop. The experts pointed to this theory as explaining mall shopping's powerful and pernicious hold on America's collective psyche" (Hardwick 2004, 4). What began as an efficient response to the changing city dynamic grew into an architectural typology which fused the science of merchandising, convenience, amusement and spectacle. The next section will focus on the space in a mall and how the architectural components and social construction relate to one another.

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[6] Original quote from "Work Begins on 10 Million Dollar Southdale Shopping Center," *Minneapolis Star*, October 29, 1954, 52; Donald C. Dayton, memo to employees, June 17, 1952, D-HA.

In addition to being blamed for contributing to urban sprawl, the two greatest criticisms of shopping malls are that they create a space which is both artificial and undemocratic. The crux of these arguments is that malls profess to create public space but in fact the space of a mall is highly controlled and welcoming only in so far as it contributes to profits. Goss critically analyses the professional literature about shopping mall design and the construction of "public" spaces within them. The thrust of his argument is that shopping malls are artificial places which appear to be designed for the consumer's benefit but are in fact calculated to "assuage this collective guilt over conspicuous consumption by designing into the retail built environment the means for a fantasized dissociated from the act of shopping" (Goss 1993, 19). He is critical of the mall promoter's assertions that shopping malls contain public space and bring people together as a community.

> The shopping center appears to be everything that it is not. It contrives to be a public, civic place even though it is private and run for profit; it offers a place to commune and recreate, while it seeks retail dollars; and it borrows signs of other places and times to obscure its rootedness in contemporary capitalism. The shopping center sells paradoxical experience to its customers, who can safely experience danger, confront the Other as a familiar, be tourists without going on vacation, go to the beach in the depths of winter, and be outside when in. It is quite literally a fantastic place, and I suspect the disappointment that some experience at the mall may result from the impossibility of these paradoxes….The shopping center is conceived by the elitist science of planning, which operates under the calculus of retail profit and applies behavioral theories of human action for purposes of social disguise as a popular space which has been created by the spontaneous, individual tactics of everyday life (Goss 1993, 40).

The theme of the magical (and artificial) world of the shopping mall is engaged by many authors. In *Variations on a Theme Park*, Margaret Crawford writes on "The World in a Shopping Mall" where she compares the creation of spectacle in shopping malls to Disneyland (Crawford 1992). Similarly, in "The Malling of America," William Severini

Kowinski, in describing the artificial nature of malls, says that "[People] will come together in this timeless, placeless space that's always colorful, clean, spacious, comforting, always new, always the same. Good malls make good neighbors, and they are neighbors here, in Never-Never land" (Severini 1992). Similarly, malls promote themselves as public space, which implies a certain amount of freedom. Yet within this "public" space, there are significant limits to freedom of speech, particularly soliciting (which could compete with the profit-making of the shops) and religious or political speech (which could make some patrons uncomfortable). Malls are also criticized for being undemocratic in refusing to allow protests and banning people who have caused or who appear to potentially cause problems for security (Salcedo 2003, 1090-91). These critiques focus on the separation between the mall and the rest of the city, the vulgar nature of consumption, and the artificially clean and stimulating spaces.

Even though it is easy to criticize malls for their vulgar consumption, retail consumption is essential to modern economies. For example, in the wake of the 9/11 disasters, Americans were encouraged to continue spending in order to reinforce the economy and retail has become the backbone of the American economy. In 2000, consumer spending accounted for nearly 70% of U.S. GDP (Toossi 2002, 13). Additionally, a robust retail economy works in tandem with a large middle class. As large numbers of the society can afford to participate in consumerism, they stimulate demand for a large quantity of merchandise which creates jobs for manufacturers, transporters, retailers and other service sector jobs which support these sectors. Meaning even though consumption is associated with waste and superficiality, it creates real economic effects.

Conclusion

The history of modern retail space begins in Western Europe and the United States but has since spread throughout the world. Department stores were the first type of modern retail space and they made their mark on society by using innovative techniques to encourage people to spend additional time within their stores, by stimulating demand for products through creative displays, and by employing and targeting women. Then shopping malls became the sites of retail innovations. They built upon these same ideas but in a more dramatic fashion and with more attention to customer comfort and convenience. Malls not only included department stores as anchors but also included a myriad of small specialty shops to give customers variety and choice. The additional size of malls in comparison to department stores also allowed larger and more complex retail venues such as food courts, restaurants, amusement parks, aquariums and so forth. Yet even with all these innovations, the nonretail aspects of a mall still fulfilled the same function as in the department store: to attract more people and to entice them to spend more money as they spend more time.

As consumerism grew and these new forms of retail space emerged, criticism developed in tandem. Shopping malls especially were targeted for criticism because they were seen as either a sterilized or Disneyfied space which pretended to be public but which was in fact exclusive toward anyone deemed "undesirable." Women were also principally targeted for criticism. It was feared that women's minds were too weak to overcome the marketing of savvy retailers and that they would create moral havoc by being too public. However, with the rise of feminism, these criticisms fell out of fashion and women became an integral part of retail space, marketing and shop keeping.

Figure 2.1 - An example of an early French galleria. Passage des Panoramas, 1799, Paris (Denis David, 2010).

Figure 2.2 - Marshall Field & Co. Department Store Atrium, Chicago, Illinois, undated (Chicago Postcard Museum).

Figure 2.3 - Marshall Field & Co. Department Store Atrium, Chicago, Illinois, undated (Curt Teich Collection).

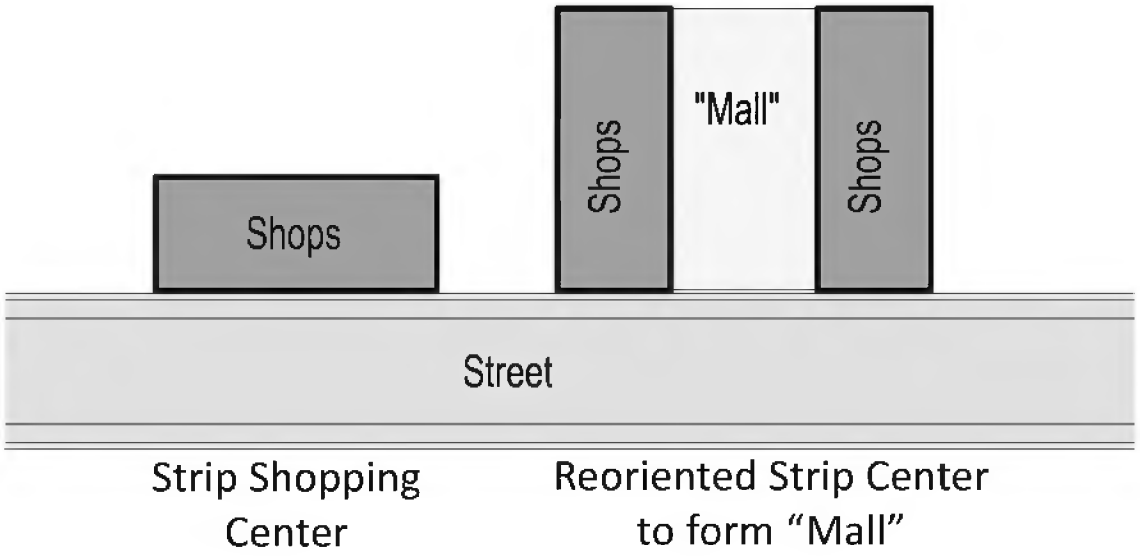

Figure 2.4 - Early Shopping Center Types in the U.S.

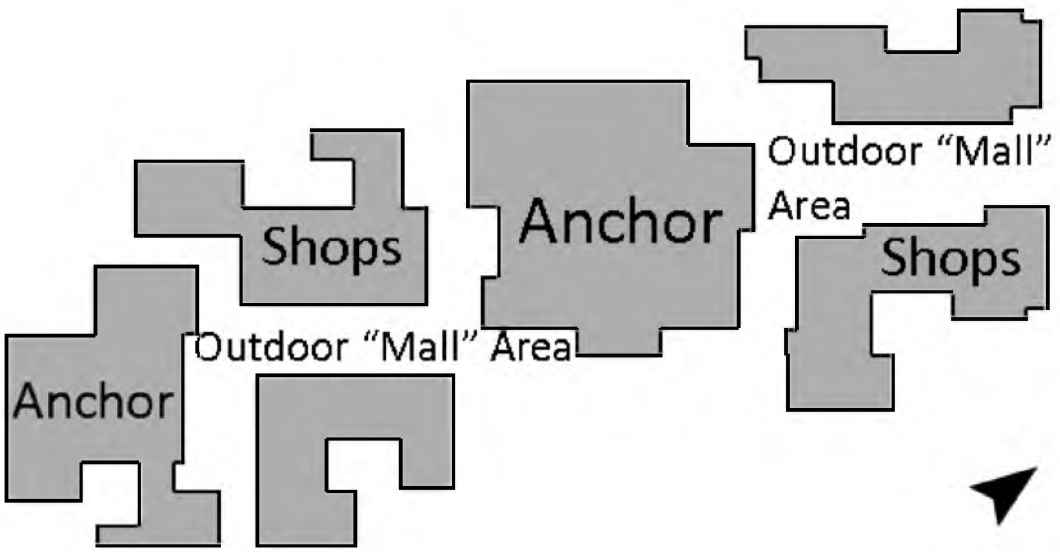

Figure 2.5 - Original Plan, Old Orchard Shopping Center, Skokie, Illinois (adapted from Maitland).

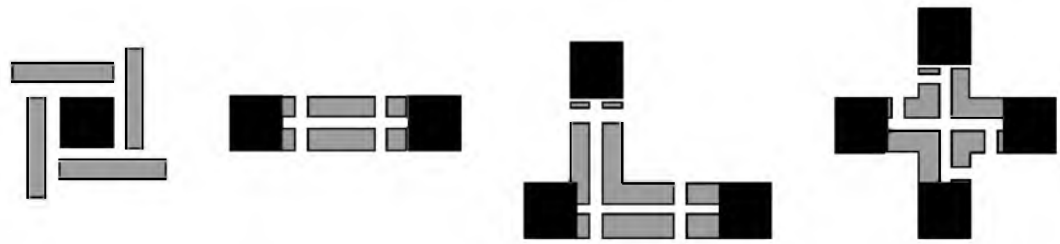

Figure 2.6 - Shopping Mall Typologies: Center Anchor; Dumbbell; L-Plan; T-Plan (adapted from Maitland).

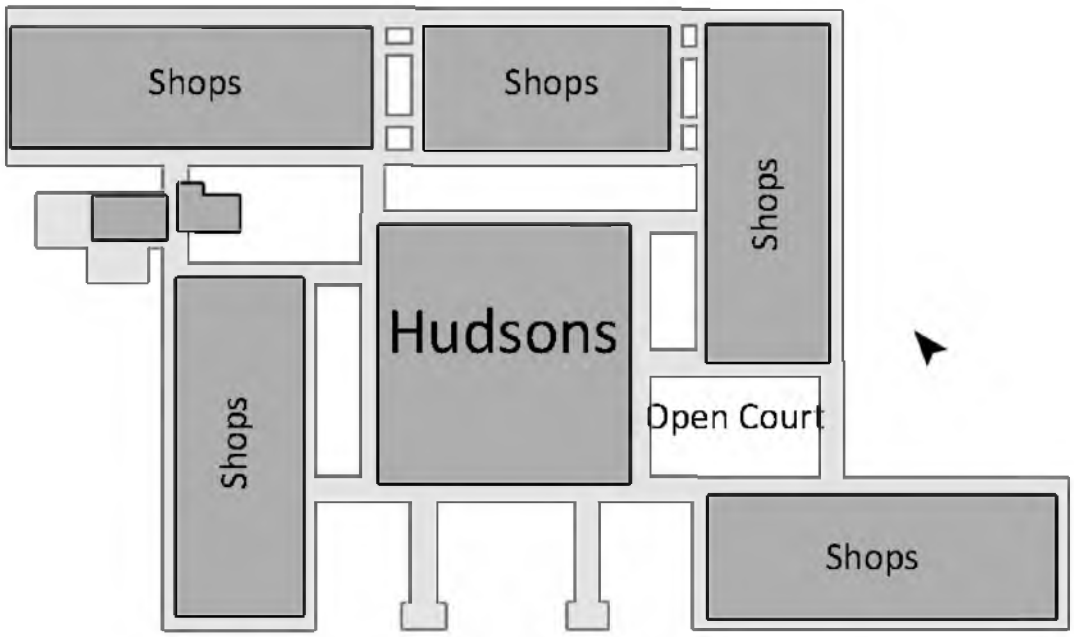

Figure 2.7 - Northland Shopping Center, Southfield, Michigan, 1960 (adapted from Gruen and Smith).

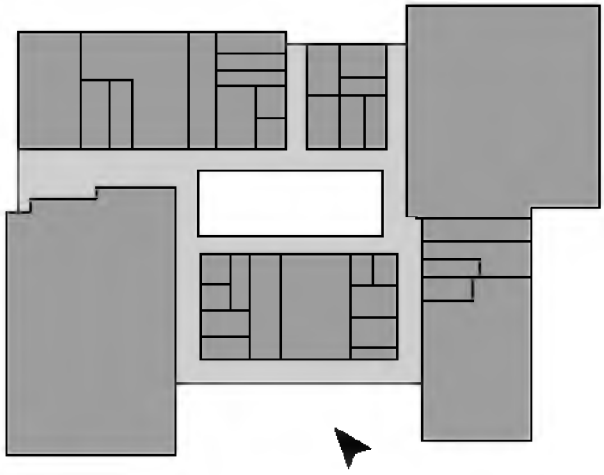

Figure 2.8 - Original Plan, Southdale Shopping Center (adapted from Maitland).

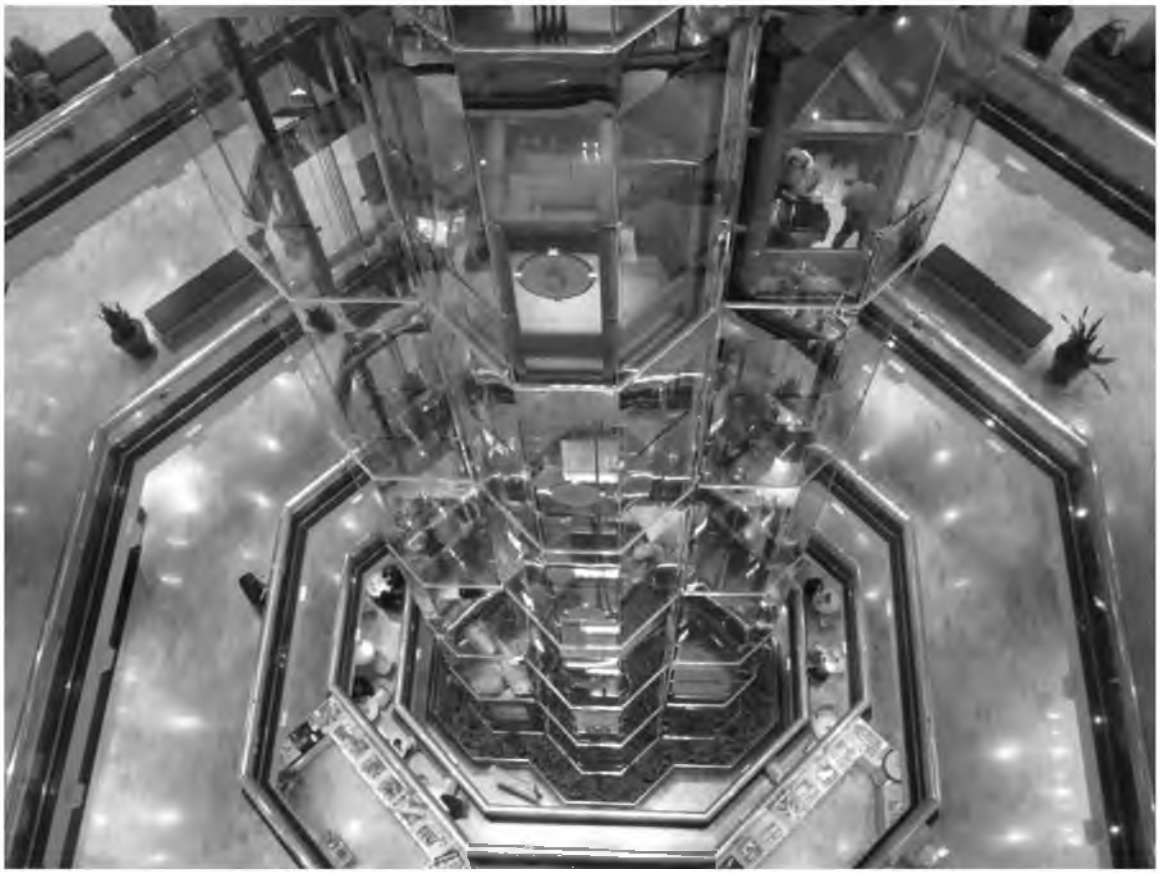

Figure 2.9 - Elevator Atrium, Water Tower Place, Chicago, Illinois (2011).

CHAPTER 3

CONSUMERISM AND SHOPPING MALLS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Introduction

Shopping malls and consumer culture in the Middle East are relatively recent phenomena which began to develop in the 1980s. Mall development started in Saudi Arabia and by the 1990s spread to the Persian Gulf and Cairo. In the twenty-first century, the United Arab Emirates became famous for over-the-top mall constructions and reveled in its superlative constructions. As these new malls were consistent with or often better than international retail standards, they have become emblems of cosmopolitan-ness and modernity. They had to also grapple with issues which are particular to the Middle East. Most of these issues centered on gender and are handled differently in different countries. In Egypt, the mall became particularly important for its role in status confirmation and elevation. For women, in particular, elite or exclusive spaces were essential to having a "public" social life without losing respectability. For poorer people, especially youth, spending time in the mall allowed them to participate in an upper-class lifestyle even if it was only through window shopping and just for a few hours per week.

Although shopping centers and other modern forms of retail have a similar appearance and planning throughout the world, this does not indicate that their usage

and social meaning are universal. The reason shopping malls look similar throughout the world is because there are only a few architectural firms which design malls throughout the world (Salcedo 2003, 1095). There are variations in décor and site-specific planning, but malls typically follow the established typologies. In places with harsh environmental conditions, the mall acts as a refuge. Malls can also act as spaces of freedom and political protest. Additionally, shopping malls can act as public gardens. Each of these uses can occur in Western malls, but they take on additional value in the Middle East. Furthermore, in the Middle East, they become especially important as representatives of modernity and consumer culture.

Modernism, Consumerism and Globalization

As suggested in the previous chapter, consumerism is related to the idea of modernity, and shopping malls have become the embodiment of both, particularly in non-Western regions. Modernity began developing at the same time as consumerism in Western Europe in the seventeenth century, and like consumerism, has spread throughout the world (Giddens 1990, 1). Philosophically, modernism represents a self-conscious break with the past, valuing newness and individual expression. In pragmatic terms, modernism also includes the concepts of efficiency, safety, and industrialization which are especially coveted in regions lacking capable transportation systems, effective medical treatment, and labor-saving devices. On a personal level, modernism and consumerism go hand in hand with the acquisition of up-to-date clothing styles, movies, television, and musical tastes. Thus, modernism requires consumerism in order to continuously procure new signifiers of the modern self. Another effect of the expansion of consumerism through globalization is the blurring of lines of class distinction. In the

past, only the elite had access to Western or European goods which indicated clear class markers.[7] As shops and malls proliferated into developing countries, a greater segment of the population can acquire at least some prestige goods which mark them as "modern." In regions which are not fully "modern" or are still developing, individuals can assert themselves as modern through the acquisition of modern goods and gain "access to the up-to-date and modern" (Stearns 2006, 154). Thus, the expansion of consumerism affects personal identity and status as much as it affects the acquisition of goods.

Because the idea of modernity developed in Western Europe and the United States and because modern goods and procedures were generated therein, being modern has been associated with Westernization. In the past few decades modernity's dependence on the West has lessened with the increasing globalization of the world and the "electronic revolution." Manfred Steger notes that "Although the term 'globalization' can be traced back to the early 1960s, it was not until a quarter of a century later that it took the public consciousness by storm. 'Globalization' surfaced as *the* buzzword of the 'Roaring Nineties' because it best captured the increasingly interdependent nature of social life on our planet" (Steger 2009, 1). Merriam-Webster defines globalization as "the act of process of globalizing: the state of being globalized; *especially:* the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital, and the tapping cheaper foreign labor markets" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2011). Because of this, modernism is no longer a gift of the West bestowed on the rest of the world. Instead, globalization has brought together disparate parts of the world through

[7] In Egypt this coincided with the *Infitah* which began opening its doors to outside commercial goods in the 1970s. See below for a discussion of this topic.

trade of consumer goods and thus through consumerism. Similar goods can be found throughout the world and do not necessarily emanate from The West.

The other factor reducing The West's monopoly on modernism is technology. The "digital revolution" which began in the 1980s revolutionized data and communication, and has not been limited to the "rich countries." No longer are the numbers of telephones and televisions significant, but the expansion of technology is counted by mobile phones and internet connections. In 2000, there were almost 1 billion mobile phone users worldwide but by 2010, there were more than 5 billion users (International Telecommunication Union 2011). This is approximately 75% of the world population. In 2011 there was 100% penetration of mobile phones in 97 countries and 70% penetration in developing countries. Worldwide, internet access was 30% in 2010 (International Telecommunication Union 2011). The ease of international communication has given wider audience to consumer goods and global trends. Because of these two trends, modernism has become more generic, universal, and less Western.

Malls Spaces of Refuge

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the major advantages of shopping malls was the use of climate control. Particularly in developing countries, malls became spaces of refuge from a variety of unpleasant conditions including weather, traffic, pollution and crime. In Africa and Asia, extreme weather can make outdoor life unbearable. Mona Abaza, a social scientist at the American University in Cairo, became interested in shopping malls as a research topic when she was researching in Kuala Lumpur about Islamic discourse and education. She notes that she "spen[t] long hours walking in Asian shopping malls. To escape the terrible heat and horrible traffic jams, it

was natural to make appointments to meet in such places" (Abaza 2001, 99). Upon returning to Cairo she found the same reliance on malls as a space of escape. Additionally she notes that many Egyptians who emigrated to Gulf countries to find work, brought back the habit of spending long periods of time in the air-conditioned bliss of malls (Abaza 2006). Breathable irritants are not limited to pollution and fumes from industry or traffic but also include more localized pollution such as stink and smoke. In China, like in other parts of the world with significant numbers of smokers, malls provide a refuge from cigarette smoke due to their no smoking policy (Margolis 2005). Protection from crime is another benefit of malls. Paulo Malzoni Filho, the president of the Brazilian Association of Shopping Centers notes that in a country with a high level of street crime, security is one of the most desirable features of malls in Brazil. Parents, in particular, are reassured by knowing that their teenagers are safe by spending time in malls (Margolis 2005). Thus, in different parts of the world, the shopping mall acts as a refuge from unpleasant urban environmental conditions.

Spaces of Freedom / Protest

Shopping malls can also be spaces of protest or freedom. Within their modern construct, activities which are not or have not been available can be played out. One example can be found in Eastern Europe. After decades of scarcity, the opening of the markets was greeted with considerable excitement because of the access to myriads of modern goods. "Malls represented freedom from the uniformity of socialism, but they are beginning to evoke mixed feelings" (Salcedo 2003, 1093). There was an appreciation of this new freedom, but also a frustration because income was still limited and most malls focused on upscale design and merchandise while ignoring the middle-class shopper

(Salcedo 2003, 1092-93). On the other hand, Shahram Khosravi argues that the freedom found in Tehran's malls has little to do with the modern goods found therein, but with the possibility of flouting the strict gender segregation rules found in Iran. Thus, malls can be sites of freedom both in access to previously unobtainable goods or to flout government controls.

In his book on youth and defiance in Tehran, Khosravi, explains that contested space in the malls "concerns the battle over the right to identity. On one side, there is the state's effort to construct a hegemonic identity for young people. On the other, there is the pervasive struggle by the young people to resist a subject position imposed on them from above" (Khosravi 2007, 1). Khosravi examines several different sites of resistance but his study of Golestan Mall is most relevant to this research. In his discussion of the mall, two major themes arise: the mall as a site of modernity and the sexualization of space in the mall. Both of these are expressions of freedom and protest for Tehrani youth. Having been a youth who "cruised" malls for entertainment, Khosravi is critical of what he calls "the hegemonic ideological theories that present consumer culture only in terms of the exploitative 'global dictatorship of capitalism'" (Khosravi 2007, 92). He finds fault with academics that focus on the malls as counterfeit public space or a place of fantasy. Instead he found the subjects of his study viewed these spaces as very real places of protest and possibility. "For them the shopping mall is not about illusion, it is rather about imagination, subjectivity, and defiance" (Khosravi 2007, 92). Although these youth inhabit a consumer space, they are using consumption as a way to separate themselves from the past, from their parents and from the strict government regulations (Khosravi 2007, 92).

The presence of the youth and the opportunities for young men and young women to interact is problematic for the *basijis* who seek to enforce gender segregation. The space of the shopping mall is contested because of its sexualization. Because Tehran was a "city dominated by gender-segregated public spaces" the malls were one of the only places young men and women could interact with each other.

> For these young people, shopping is not a backstage activity undertaken in order to prepare for a performance on the stage. Rather it is itself a front-state act. They dress up and go to *passazhs* [malls] to be seen. The other side of loitering in the *passazhs* is watching and being flâneur…The gaze of the young flâneurs is often erotic. They look for the opposite sex to complete their incomplete selves in a society which is trying to banish young romance. Golestan is indeed a scene for performing what the Islamic state defines as 'cultural crimes.'
>
> In Golestan, the body movements, gazes, and short verbal comments of boys about girls and vice versa create a sexually loaded atmosphere. Young men come to Golestan for *dokhtar bazi* (flirting with girls) and young girls for *pesar bazi* (flirting with boys). Through the corridors, in the courtyard, in the queue to a public phone, or just standing in front of a shop window, girls and boys flirt with each other. Girls are often subject to *matallak*, erotic verbal taunt. The 'moral police' attempt to separate the sexes, but are rarely successful. Tehrani boys are experts at whispering their phone numbers in a few seconds as they pass by girls, who in turn are skilled in memorizing the numbers. Such interaction takes place under the disguise of doing something else. Boys and girls do not look at each other and 'do not talk' to each other (Khosravi 2007, 112).

One informant explained that in the mall "'there are many escape routes [*darou*]. Here you can pretend that you are looking at the shop windows. If I pass by the same girl more than twice in a park or on the street, everybody would know what is going on. Here we just go back and forth and pretend to be looking at shops'" (Khosravi 2007, 113). They also use the variety of shops, hallways, stairs and levels as ways to escape *basijis* patrols (Khosravi 2007, 91). As these informants have discovered, the physicality of the shopping space allows them to both interact with girls and to evade the authorities trying

to stop them. In this way, the fantasy world of the mall becomes a real place where things which are not possible elsewhere can occur (Figure 3.1).

In addition to innocent flirting, Iranian malls have become highly sexualized spaces. Female display manikins are not under the same regulations to cover their bodies as women are, and all kinds of revealing attire is prominently displayed. Thus, shopping becomes a sexual event. Khosravi notes that "the coincidence of shopping and male leisure-seeking makes Golestan a masculine playground" where sexuality is commercialized "as a form of spectacle for consumption" (Khosravi 2007, 113). Additionally, the area in front of Golestan Mall is famous for prostitution, which further heightens the sexual tensions. Men not only can look at sexualized displays and flirt with girls, but there are also possibilities for sexual encounters due to the presence of prostitutes. In this way, the physical presence of real women, the merchandise being displayed sexually, and the reputation for prostitution combine to make sex the focus of shopping at the mall.

Thus, the act of shopping at a mall can be infused with protest, a sense of freedom and imagination. In post-Soviet Eastern Europe, one of the most visible indicators of "freedom" was the opening of markets and the abundance of consumer goods. In Iran, the shopping malls are both a site of freedom and protest. People, especially youth, have the freedom to spend time in spaces with the opposite sex and women have the freedom to spend time in public. This freedom turns to a form of protest as youths actively seek to subvert the *basijis*' attempts to control their behavior. In these examples, the imagination becomes an important part of the lure of the mall. In Eastern Europe, the imagination was launched by the possibility of so many new consumer goods, whereas in Iran, the

imagination was tantalized by the possibility of sexual encounters. For both of these cases, the extent of the imagination could not possibly be fulfilled, but that only heightened the sense of freedom and need for protest.

Public Gardens

Particularly in Middle Eastern cities which are often lacking in open space, shopping malls act as public gardens. They become places where people spend leisure time without having to pay an entrance fee. Fawaz Alhokair Company, a prominent mall developer in Saudi Arabia, stated that

> Retail is a popular pastime for families and individuals in a country that has no bars or clubs. And this has dictated how many malls have been conceived. "The mall is more than just a retail mall here," explained Fawaz Alhokair's head of real estate, Kamel Al Qalam. "It's family leisure time, and it's the most credible way for the family to spend time together. We didn't have this in the past" (Kivlehan 2008).

Unlike the American model, which is based on large anchor stores, Saudi malls rely on entertainment such as food courts and ice skating rinks as their anchors, thus, the entertainment facilities promote the space as a kind of public garden (Kivlehan 2008). As mentioned above, in escaping the climate and congestion, South Asians have appropriated malls as public gardens. Mona Abaza explains that within these spaces a new life arose,

> Through the reshaping of landscapes, *flâneur*-ing in the open air, which is one of the attractions of any town, becomes nearly impossible, with the growing number of cars and highways. In Malaysia, trees are constantly chopped down and the jungle is rapidly disappearing. Cool, fresh air is available only in shopping malls. On weekends, extended middle-class families of all ethnicities – Malay, Chinese, and Indian – in their ethnic clothes (Islamic attire of all varieties, saris, sarongs and the robes of Buddhist monks) fill these spaces, mingling with people wearing mini-skirts, shorts and sandals. They enjoy shopping, window shopping or the movies…These spaces contain extremely noisy crowds of young people (Abaza, 2001, 100).

Abaza also notes that traditional activities like Chinese New Year's celebrations, breaking the fast at Ramadan, and Malay and Indian traditions are also celebrated in "these super-modern settings. One could interpret these events as an aspect of 'folkorization of culture' which goes hand in hand with the growing '*etat*-ization' of Malaysia" (Abaza 2001, 100-1). Upon returning to Cairo in 1998, Abaza noticed the same development trajectory. Unlike other cities which have public gardens, in Cairo the government has fenced in the public gardens so malls become de facto public parks. Thus, "public space" has been subsumed by commerce (Abaza 2006, 84). In this way, shopping malls have filled the need for public gardens for comfortable leisure space.

Mall in Comparison to the Bazaar

In the Middle Eastern context, shopping malls are often compared to *suqs* or bazaars because they are both agglomerations of individual shops within a unified space, but there are significant differences. The major differences are related to ideas of modernity and gender. First, malls separate themselves from bazaars through their architecture. *Suqs* or bazaars generally fall into one of three architectural categories: old construction, new construction imitating old construction, and unselfconscious utilitarian construction. Since many *suqs* date back hundreds of years, they reflect the current architectural style of the time when they were built. New *suqs* which have been built recently, especially for tourist areas, often imitate these traditional *suqs*. The utilitarian *suqs* are using economical materials simply to provide shelter and display of merchandise goods. Malls on the other hand, consciously announce their modernity through an architectural break with the past. They employ materials requiring industrialization rather

than human labor such as aluminum, large panes of glass and high-end tiles. Additionally, they showcase technology such as escalators and elevators.

The bazaar represents "continuity" while the shopping mall represents "disjunction" (Khosravi 2007, 98). In the bazaar, "Islamic order" regulates its workings and the atmosphere imposes the morality; and there is an expectation of "virtuous behavior and dress" (Khosravi 2007, 113). In contrast, malls must be policed by police, moral militia, or security guards (Khosravi 2007, 113). Compared with the bazaar, the Iranian *passazh* is relatively new, having come to life in the late 1960s and early 1970s and the mall which began to appear in the 1980s. This type of shopping center is named *passazh* from the French word *passage* which signified shopping arcades is defined by its modernity and contrast with the bazaars:

> A *passazh* in present-day Tehran is a modern multi-story building, usually housing a car park and served by elevators and escalators. It is designed with a good composition of light and color, and of course includes large spaces for interior gardens. The typical features of the traditional bazaar, such as the mosque, old-style coffee-house, public bath, are absent here. Instead there are cafeterias and fast-food shops. Shops are crammed with imported goods. Recent chic modes from Europe can be found in these boutiques. The shops have fancy names and signs shaped in colorful neon. Unlike the traditional bazaar, all the shops have shop-windows. The *passazhs* are built outside the bazaar's physical boundaries and are usually located in the more modern parts of the city (Khosravi 2007, 93).

Emphasizing the modernity is extremely important for shopping malls. Aydin Ozdemir explains this phenomenon in the Turkish context,

> The shopping mall introduces a new post-modern architectural element to the older mix of architectural styles in the Turkish urban landscape. In this context, the shopping mall was defined as an alternative to the traditional public space and the traditional marketplace. This new development is a type of property that is neither public nor private; it is a place created to encourage consumer activates in an enclosed area rather than a face-to-face interaction as seen in the old bazaar in the form of negotiation and hassling. Although the bazaar and the traditional marketplace are still an essential part of Turkish city life for economic and social

> exchange, the traditional marketplace is no longer a focal point for social interaction (Ozdmir 2008, 229).

The continuity of bazaars or *suqs* burdens them with centuries of tradition and expectation while the conscious discontinuity of the shopping malls is embraced in the name of modernity.

In addition to the modernity of architecture, the mall has changed the nature of retail space. In the past the space of retail was the space of individual people who transacted business face to face, but in the mall the space of retail has expanded to include displays of merchandise, space between displays, advertising and usually multiple sales clerks. In the mall the customer interacts with the displays and the price tags to decide whether to make a purchase rather than with the vendor. Shopping malls have branded themselves as modern and rational because they do away with the traditional practices of negotiation and hassling. There is also an aspect of class differentiation between the mall and the bazaar. This is clarified by a shopkeeper in Golestan Mall,

> There is a huge difference between the *passazh* and the bazaar. The atmosphere is different. We are not like the *bazaris*. A *bazari* may be rich and live in north Tehran, but he still has his *bazari* character. Most of the shop owners here are educated. Most of us went into business because of the bad economic situation. We began from nothing. Unlike most entrepreneurs here, we had no business experience before. To run a business here is costly. We pay a high rent and monthly charge. This affects the price of our commodities. It is true that Golestan is an expensive *passazh*, but our commodities and service are unique. The clientele of Golestan are special. They are wealthy and pay good money for quality stuff. Most of them have lived or traveled in *kharej* and have experiences of *khareji* services. In the whole of Iran, Golestan is the most similar to Western shopping centers. 90 percent of our clientele are tourists or nonresident Iranians. There are many shops like ours in central Tehran, but they come here because here is classy (Khosravi 2007, 108).

In addition to targeting different markets, there was a difference between how space was gendered in the malls versus the bazaars. The bazaar is a homogeneous space, a "men's world." Iran presents an extreme version of gender differences. There are no businesswomen. Women might work as artisans for a *bazari*, but they are seen neither by the visitor nor other *bazaris*. As visitors and customers, women are expected to be properly veiled, shop efficiently, and not to linger. In contrast, women have a significant presence in *passazhs* and can be seen as shoppers, flâneurs, salesclerks and business owners. Khosravi notes that one woman shop owner was on the board of the shopping center and two other women were on the council of managers of Golestan. "Golestan has a more democratic ambiance and openness to religious minorities as well as young people. Youth-oriented *passazhs* also require young entrepreneurs who can cater to the needs and tastes of the younger generation. These young businesswo/men are usually from other social backgrounds than those of *bazari"* (Khosravi 2007, 101). Through their presence in malls, women can protest the strict regulations segregating the sexes. These changes, especially with respect to gender make the mall modern in contrast with the bazaar.

Thus, the differences between bazaar and mall are more complex than new verses traditional but they are also related to male space, background, and being modern. One of the major ways that the mall sets itself apart is through the creation of a "modern" space. Khosravi recalls that

> As a teenager, in the early 1980s, I spend several hours a week in Passazh-e Sepahan or Passazh-e Chahrbagh Bala, in my home town of Isfahan. On Thursday evening these shopping malls were full of well-dressed young people with the 'right' hairstyle. We strolled around to see and to be seen…The trendiest clothes could be found there (Khosravi 2007, 91).

The attraction of the malls was the presentation of modern, up-to-the-minute styles. He also notes that "window shopping" is "one contemporary mode of consumption" and is "associated with the 'democratization of luxury.'" While even a coffee at a café in Golestan is out of reach for most youth from South Tehran, they can afford to visit the mall "everyday, stroll around, look at commodities, imagine, and talk about consumption…As one of [his] informants said once, 'talking about pleasure is the half of it (Khosravi 2007, 117).'" For those who cannot afford expensive consumptive lifestyles, they can still feel modern by visiting the "right" places.

> Being modern, as in the case of class, is also a spatial process. The performance of modernity requires a place where difference or distinction is manifested. Shahrak-e Gharb, the Golestan shopping center, coffee shops, Abyaneh, and Babak Castle are some of the stages on which Tehrani young people perform their modernity as well as obtaining new imaginative resources. That these locations are also consumer settings indicates the significance of consumption in the cultural practice of being modern (Khosravi 2007, 172-173).

This means that one of the important cultural significances of malls is their ability to create a separated space where patrons can participate in the modern consumer lifestyle simply by being there.

Shopping malls have been able to capitalize on the desire to be modern and serve as a solution to modern problems. Their design, which uses modern materials and rational design, is compelling for people wishing to participate in the modern globalized world. Through consumer culture found in malls, people in developing countries can enjoy similar spatial experiences as Europeans and Americans, as well as have access to similar goods. Malls have also responded to the need for places where people can spend leisure time and meet the opposite sex. Even though mall spaces are not technically public, they

serve well as alternatives to urban discomforts and dangers, and, although not intended, malls also act as spaces of defiance, freedom and protest.

Accommodating Local Traditions as Long as They Contribute to Profits

One brilliant aspect of mall strategies is not to completely obliterate traditional customs in their quest for modern consumer space. Instead certain customs are incorporated into mall culture but only as far as they benefit profits. Other customs which have no impact on profits are usually ignored. Saudi Arabian malls are one of the best examples of this phenomenon. There, a unique spatial configuration was developed to respond to the strict gender segregation in the society. Since most of the customers are women who are required to be veiled, but who find it much easier to shop without being completely covered, women-only floors were invented. This was first developed at Kingdom Mall in Riyadh in 2002 (Cook 2002). The idea, as the architect in charge, James Porter, points out, is to "'accommodate religious practice, while allowing upscale western retail'" (Salcedo 2003, 1097). Similarly, shopping malls in Islamic countries often include a mosque or prayer area so that patrons do not have to leave the mall in order to say their prayers.[8] Another local adaptation occurred at a Filipino megamall where a Catholic church was built inside the mall. Developers "found that 60% of churchgoers patronize the mall after each mass, which means that on Sundays there are about 5,000 potential buyers" (Salcedo 2003, 1097). In this way, the church became a mall anchor. In each of these cases local religion and practices were accommodated in the

[8] Based on personal visits to malls in Cairo, Alexandria, Dubai and Riyadh. Additionally, the mall amenity list at Sunway Pyramid Mall, Petaling, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia was consulted (http://www.sunwaypyramid.com/mallservices.asp).

mall, but only to the extent to which they helped sales. However, other local customs, such as bargaining or serving tea to customers have been abandoned because they do not contribute to increased profits. Thus, the amount that local customs are utilized by malls is not based on an affinity for the local, but on the possibility of increasing revenue (Salcedo 2003, 1097).

Shopping Space in the Middle East and Asia

The explosion of shopping malls in the Middle East is a recent phenomenon which only seems to be increasing, and its trajectory has many similarities throughout the region. According to the International Council of Shopping Centers, the vast majority of shopping centers in the Middle East were built since 2000 with almost none having been built before 1990 (Table 3.1). The Persian Gulf countries (Gulf Cooperation Council or GCC) which include Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates have been leading the area in shopping mall construction. In 2006, the retail market in the GCC was over $50 billion U.S., and when Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Syria, Iran and Iraq are included, it brings this number to over $100 billion U.S. (Thomson 2006, 36). One of the most common trends, especially in the GCC is using a hypermarket, such as Carrefour or Géant, as an anchor rather than a department store. Typically, the bulk of the mall consists of high-end shops and international brand-named stores. The number of international brand-named stores is increasing such that while in 1985 only twenty international brands were represented in the Middle East, by 2006 there were over 400. Another trend is the "increasingly large and exotic entertainment anchor[s]," such as indoor ski slopes (Mall of the Emirates, Dubai) or world class aquariums (Dubai Mall) (Thomson 2006, 38). Unfortunately, little critical literature about

shopping centers and consumer culture exists about the Middle East. The notable exceptions are Shahram Khosravi's study of defiance in Tehran and Mona Abaza's research on consumer culture in Cairo. The bulk of the research in the Middle East is professional literature produced by the retail industry to measure and examine retail practices with the intent to improve profits. Another plentiful source is newspaper articles and press releases but these focus on the newness or superlative nature of shopping malls, particularly in the Persian Gulf. As mentioned by Salcedo, the form of many of these malls is very similar but the manner in which the space is gendered, even within different Middle Eastern countries, varies significantly.

Shopping Malls in Dubai

Shopping malls may have begun in the United States, but Asia now dominates megamalls. Of the top twenty malls in the world, all, except for the Mall of America and the West Edmonton Mall, Canada, are located in Asia (ICSC 2011).The United Arab Emirates, and Dubai in particular, have become famous for their shopping malls due to their number, size and innovations. Malls began opening in the 1990s and the speed of their aperture increased in the 2000s. Nearly two-thirds of the malls have been built since 2000 (Table 3.2). By the end of 2011, there were fifty-six malls over 100,000 square feet and twelve over 1,000,000 square feet. Construction hit its peak in 2007 and due to the global economic downturn no malls were opened in 2009 (ICSC, ICSC-UAE 2011). Yet as a testament to the durability of the mall concept, three news malls have been built since then. As of 2011, the ninth largest mall in the world was located in Dubai[9].

[9] This statistic is disputed because the Mall of Arabia is listed as the ninth largest mall in the world, but as of May 2012, it has not been completed nor have there been announcements as to its scheduled opening

According to Mohammed Ali Alabbar, Chairman of Emaar Properties and Director-General of Dubai's Department of Economic Development, one of the advantages that Dubai has is that it is the single shopping hub for the Middle East while in the U.S., there are hubs dispersed throughout the country. Additionally, "mall usage in the Middle East is 30% higher than in the US and Europe …Per capita retail space in the U.S. is 17 sq ft; in the Far East, it is 9 sq ft; but in Dubai it is just 2 sq ft. So Dubai will not be over-malled. In fact, we need more malls, as the tourism sector is recording double-digit growth every year." Dubai depends on tourist dollars to support its retail outlets and caters to high-end shops to draw shoppers but other Gulf countries have begun building their own malls which may affect the future popularity of Dubai's malls (Cronin 2004).

In addition to building enormous malls, Dubai has also focused on novelty, a few examples of which will be highlighted to provide an idea of the creativity and imagination of mall designers and developers. The Dubai Mall, opened in 2008 adjacent to the Burj al-Khalifa, the current world's tallest building boasts "one of the world's largest aquariums," the "world's largest indoor gold souk" with over 200 jewelry shops, an indoor ice skating rink, and the "world's most spectacular fountain" (Figure 3.2) (Dubai Mall 2010). The mall also claims to be the "the world's largest shopping, leisure and entertainment destination"[10] and has over 1,000 open shops. Keeping with the megamall typology, the Dubai Mall has four associated luxury hotels (Emaar Malls 2011).[11] The Ibn Battuta Mall is an example of a themed mall. The self-proclaimed "edutainment" mall is designed around the travels of the fourteenth century explorer Ibn

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date, even though the ICSC Shopping Center Directory lists it as opening in 2011. Dubai Mall is listed as the tenth largest (opened 2008).

[10] It is unclear how this statement can be supported since there are no fewer than eight larger malls in the world, all of which claim to include shopping, leisure and entertainment.

[11] Field visit to Dubai Mall, Dec. 23, 2010.

Battuta. The mall is laid out around courtyards representing the different places Ibn Battuta visited including Andalusia, Tunisia, Egypt, India, Iran and China. In the Chinese section, representing the extent of the journey, there is a full scale replica of Ibn Battuta's wrecked ship. The intent is that patrons will learn about history while shopping. Additionally, it includes a Géant hypermarket and twenty-one screen cinema complex.[12] Even more astounding is the Mall of the Emirates which is famous for its indoor ski slope which uses real snow (Figure 3.3).[13] Additionally it includes 520 international brand shops, Magic Planet arcade, 14 screen cinema, the largest Carrefour hypermarket in Dubai, 85 coffee shops and restaurants and a 500 seat community theater. The Kempinski Hotel and Pullman Dubai Hotel are also part of this retail complex (Majid Al-Futtaim 2010).

Shopping Malls in Saudi Arabia

Although Saudi Arabia is not as well-known as Dubai for its shopping, the country has also seen explosive growth in malls. Yet the Saudi malls are most interesting because of their issues relating to gender and spatial segregation (Figures 3.4 & 3.5). The first enclosed shopping mall in Saudi Arabia, Galleria Shopping Centre, in Jeddah, was built in 1984. The 1980s saw seven more shopping centers built in Jeddah and Riyadh and two more in the 1990s. The real boom came in the 2000s. By the end of 2011, there were sixty shopping centers with more than 100,000 square feet and ten over 1,000,000 square feet (ICSC, Shopping Center Directory - Saudi Arabia 2011). An interview with Kamal Al Qalam, the head of real estate for Fawaz Alhokair, a prominent mall developer

[12] Field visit to Ibn Battuta Mall, April 3, 2008.
[13] Field visit to Mall of the Emirates, April 6, 2008.

in Saudi Arabia, presents a good summary of the status of malls in Saudi Arabia in 2008. "In the past ten years, the retail market in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has developed from a mishmash of individual shops to large mall developments attracting the world's best-known retailers" (Kivlehan 2008). Along with this, customers have become more brand conscious and engaged in shopping. Fawaz Alhokair opened its first shopping center in 1998 in Medina. It has since built ten more, and plans to open twelve more malls in the next three years. His company "focuses on the mass mid-market sector, [and] is the largest owner and operator of malls in the kingdom." Unlike the American model, which is based on large anchor stores, Saudi malls rely on entertainment such as food courts and ice skating rinks as their anchors. Al Qalam noted that the economic slowdown has not affected his company. In fact, the company is expanding into other countries. The company has purchased land outside of Cairo to build a 2,367,200 square foot mall called the Mall of Africa to be completed in 2010.[14] "'We have a strong appetite to develop in Egypt,' says Al Qalam. 'We see potential and growth, particularly with malls in that area. In Egypt, there is very little offering from creditable malls.'" However, Al Qalam will avoid Dubai and Western Europe both of which are mature and sizeable markets. While Saudi Arabia is not the leader in malls, Saudi developers have a significant presence both within and outside the kingdom.

Unlike in Dubai, the market is only beginning to mature in Saudi Arabia. According to Gerry Waters, the CEO of Fawaz Alhokair Real Estate Group, when malls began to be developed, "finding retailers was a piecemeal operation. 'It was literally going out and walking around sites, or getting consultants searching' he says. 'But now

[14] It is doubtful that these plans have been realized. I have seen no evidence of construction of this which would be the sixth largest in the world, beating out all other malls in the Middle East.

it's more strategic. There's history in Saudi, and there are certainly gaps in the market. The types of retailers that are not here are pharmacy chains like Boots'" (Kivlehan 2008). One of the concerns for retailers was political instability which is why international companies set up franchises in the Kingdom. As the mall market matured, it became easier to attract more international brand stores. In 2008, Waters still hoped to attract Walmart or Tesco (Kivlehan 2008) and in May 2012, Tesco announced it was opening its first F&F store in the Haifa Mall in Jeddah in partnership with Fawaz Alhokair (Smith 2012).

Women and Saudi Shopping

Almost all of the professional literature about malls in Saudi Arabia falls into two categories: announcements of huge construction projects or stories about the third floor of Kingdom Center Mall. This floor is special because it is for women only. As mentioned previously, this was the brainchild of architect Ronald Altoon who was trying to solve the problem of luring more female customers to the mall he was designing. Noting that there were many high-end shops in the Kingdom but that women could not try on any clothing there, Altoon

> Came up with an ecumenical solution: the Kingdom Centre, a three-story glass-and-steel Xanadu of retail with an entire floor – Women's Kingdom – devoted exclusively to female customers. 'We took the veil off the women and put it on the building.' Even though the third floor of a mall is usually "a dud" but in Kingdom Center, the third floor is the most profitable. Kingdom Center may not be revolutionary; no one is burning veils at the food court. Still, it represents a small but meaningful freedom for Saudi women. And its success points to the irrepressible global appetite for consumer culture, as well as to the growing role that the right shop plays in fostering democratization and development' (Margolis 2005).

Since then, two other women-only malls have been built, one in Jeddah and one in Dammam (England 2008). Besides providing women the opportunity to shop unveiled, the women's floor also provides other opportunities for women. One of the biggest problems for women shopping in Saudi Arabia is trying on clothing. "'There's this whole paranoia about women hiding with men in the fitting rooms. Instead women have to put down a deposit and take garments to the women's restrooms,'" explained Walter Kleinschmit, the general manager of Kingdom Center (Martin 2002). On the women's floor, there is no problem with fitting rooms or having female fitting room attendants. Another advantage for women is the ability to work in or even own shops. Within the mixed portion of the mall, women are not allowed to work because they will mix with men. The Bab Rizq Jameel center in Riyadh is also restricted to women only. Here, about sixty businesswomen work. "'The objective is to empower women,' says Saad al-Ghamdi, senior vice-president at ALJ [Abdul Latif Jameel, a non-profit devoted to overcoming female unemployment and developing female businesses]. 'We need to show people there's nothing wrong in working, that work is something that should be honorable'" (Martin 2002). Because of women-owned and operated businesses female shoppers do not need to face the indignity of buying underwear or cosmetics from male sales clerks (all of whom are foreigners) (Martin 2002). The women-only floors and malls allow women to shop without veils, own and run stores, try on clothing in fitting rooms, and not have to interact with men.

All of the articles about women-only space are enthusiastically positive. This is even heralded as a democratizing step opening up great opportunities for women. However, the authors of these articles fail to consider that while this is providing more

opportunities for women, it is reinforcing gender segregation and begins to create two parallel but not equivalent worlds for men and women. The other factor that the articles do not mention was discussed by Rodrigo Salcedo, which is the accommodation of tradition for the purpose of profit. In this case, the separation of men and women in these malls was not motivated by religious reasons, but for purposes of profit. It was noticed that women constitute a large segment of the shopping population and they found it difficult to shop with the gender segregation rules in Saudi Arabia. This type of shop was designed for the purpose of attracting more female shoppers. The fact that it has allowed women to be business owners and to be employed is a side benefit.

The role of male shop clerks, particularly in women's lingerie shops, is part of an ongoing and as yet unresolved debate. The local interpretation of Islamic law requires that men and women not mix in public so a woman who works in a shop, even one catering to women's clothing, would still have to interact with men. For example, a female clerk would have to serve men who were buying gifts for their wives. However, a woman who interacts with a male sales clerk is not considered to be breaking the injunction against gender mixing although many women have protested this policy. In 2006,[15] the Saudi government passed a law requiring female shop attendants to be employed in shops which cater to women. The implementation of this law was thwarted by the religious police who shut the shops down. They required that women only shops obscure their windows and hire security to keep men out. Shops considered this to be an expensive burden and stopped hiring women (McEvers 2009). Reem Assad, investment analyst from Jeddah, spearheaded efforts to overturn this arrangement and replace male

[15] Whether this law was enacted in 2005 or 2006 cannot be confirmed since both dates are listed in different sources.

clerks with women. There is a Facebook page "No to men selling lingerie to women in Saudi Arabia" which currently has 607 members,[16] although it was reported to have included over 2,000 members in 2009 (No to men selling lingerie to women in Saudi Arabia 2011). On June 10, 2011, Marco Werman, of *The World,* in an interview with Reem Asaad, a Saudi Women's rights advocate, reported that the king proclaimed that lingerie shops must be staffed by women by the end of the month (Asaad 2011) but there was still skepticism that it could be implemented. In 2012, the ban against men selling lingerie to women went into effect although there has been significant resistance to King Abdullah's reforms giving women more rights (Al-Shihri 2012).[17]

Men and Saudi Malls

The exception to the above two categories is a strange article in the Jerusalem Post about Saudi bachelors paying girls to get them into malls. The problem for single men is that without an appropriate female companion, they are excluded from many malls designed for women and families. As malls represent one of the few social spaces and possibly the only place a young man could meet or just watch females, entrance is very desirable. "The practice of single men paying for a temporary, fake sister or mother as a tactic to gain entry to family-only malls in Saudi Arabia is on the rise." The girl accomplice only has to stay with the man for a few minutes to get in the door. Once inside, if caught, the man can claim his "sister" is in the bathroom. If he gets caught in the lie, all he risks is being kicked out of the mall. There is both disapproval and disbelief about this issue. Oda Dakhlalla, a professional translator, is critical of these men who

[16] As of August 18, 2011.
[17] In May 2012, King Abdullah fired Sheik Abdul Mohsen Al Obeikan, an ultraconservative advisor who previously opposed the king's relaxing of gender segregation policies (Al-Shihri 2012).

could only want to visit these malls for "flirting or to meet females." For Dakhlalla, wanting to interact with women is shameful and thus, she condemns the men who seek to use shopping malls as an opportunity to do so. On the other hand, Dr. Salah bin Abdulaziz Al-Nassar, secretary-general of the National Center for Youth Studies at King Saud University believes that these cases are rare. "I've heard that some of the girls are being paid to help some boys get into the mall, but my daughter is 18 and she told me she hasn't heard of any cases." However, Eman Al Nafjan, a female blogger notes that one of the reasons this trend is growing is because there are few malls for men. A lot of men and boys want to go shopping, and others want to alleviate boredom by hanging out in malls. Still she argues that "'I'm against it but at the same time I understand why they have that rule, because Saudi men are famous for harassing women. This complete segregation of the sexes is unnatural and makes men view women as objects. I've seen 50 year old men harass women and I've seen 16 your old boys do it. I've even been harassed by men when I had three kids with me and a baby in the stroller" (Joffe-Walt 2010). Although it is unclear how pervasive this trend is, it reveals how gender segregation is not only a women's issue. For some young single men, they feel left out of social life which occurs in shopping malls and thus are trying to enter, even when forbidden.

Egyptian Malls in Perspective

Compared to the world, Egyptian malls are relatively insignificant, but they do play an important role locally. Egypt's largest mall, Cairo City Stars Mall ranks 253rd in the world (Figure 3.6). In comparison with the Middle East, City Stars ranks sixteenth and Alexandria's Green Plaza Ranks thiry-second but when compared to malls in Africa, Egypt's malls are more impressive (

Table **3.3**). Cairo's City Stars Mall is the second largest mall in Africa following South Africa's Sandton City Mall. Four of Egypt's malls rank in the top thirty of Africa, whose market is dominated by South Africa (which hosts 95% of all malls in Africa) (ICSC 2011).

History of Shopping Malls in Egypt

Egypt currently boasts a significant number of shopping malls but they were all built in a relatively short period of time. Beginning in the 1970s, many Egyptians emigrated to Gulf countries, Saudi Arabia in particular, to find lucrative work and this trend became more pronounced in the 1980s. During the 1980s, malls were first being built in Saudi Arabia's major cities. By the 1990s malls were sprouting up throughout the Gulf countries. As workers returned to Egypt, they brought back with them the habit of spending long hours in air-conditioned shopping malls to avoid the external heat. In addition to avoiding the climate, Egyptians also appreciated the absence of traffic, cleanliness and a sense of social "elevation" from visiting malls (Abaza 2006, 274-5).

In the 1980s international chain stores arrived in Cairo (Rodenbeck 1999, 191). In 1989, Yamama Centre in Zamalek, was the first mall built in Cairo. It has 43,000 square feet (almost one acre) on each of its nine floors which are connected by escalators. It was built by the Saudi Prince Bandar and was popular with Saudi visitors. Like other malls, there was tight security which was concerned with shop-lifting and sexual harassment, both of which increased in the summer when more Saudis visited Cairo. The upper-class residents of Zamalek considered much of the merchandise to be "*baladi* or *bi'a* (popular, with the connotation of vulgarity)" but interestingly, the mall was frequented by Egyptian women "dressed and veiled in the Saudi style…Each of these malls attracts customers

differing in terms of class and in their consumer demands" (Abaza 2006, 281). After establishing popularity in Cairo, the international chain stores and shopping malls began to be built in other Egyptian cities.

The World Trade Centre Mall in the heart of Cairo is an example of an early mall which has already passed away and its history describes some of the problems inherent in large scale retail construction in Egypt. Built in 1990, the WTC Mall and its companions, Conrad and Hilton hotels erased large parts of Boulaq, a popular and densely inhabited quarter along the Nile. The World Trade Centre created a middle class playground in the center of Cairo.

> Before its collapse, the World Trade Centre incorporated a new conception of space for leisure containing (cinemas and discotheques, shops, fitness centres, computer games with communication facilities and apartments). A new way for the middle classes to occupy space and spend time, seemed to be in the making. This huge complex with some hundreds of shops, restaurants and cafeterias, was meant to integrate the residential with the recreational, business and commerce with *flâneur*-ing (Abaza 2006, 254).

The mall appealed to a variety of people including veiled and unveiled women, families, youth, couples and Gulf visitors. With its emphasis on middle class customers, the shopping center sat uncomfortably within a quarter famous for *suks* selling army surplus and used clothing. When Abaza interviewed popular residents of the quarter in the early 2000s, they expressed frustration that continued development would eventually push them out of their quarter and they would receive little compensation. Additionally, they saw the majority of the public utilities (water and electricity) diverted to supply this complex and the nearby Ramses Hilton while they suffered shortages (Abaza 2006, 254). Surprisingly, when in 2004 Abaza returned to this mall, she found that only three shops were still open, the cafeteria had closed, offices had closed or moved, and there were very

few patrons. One former shop tenant attributed the mall's failure to poor management. She also felt that the location in Bulaq contributed to the failure. Her shop moved to First Mall and was successful there (Abaza 2006, 256). In a matter of fifteen years the World Trade Center Mall was born, died, and caused a further decrease in the standard of living for the local residents.

Al-Amir Mall, another dead mall, is a particularly interesting case because it was considered a women's mall or "*moll harimi*." Because most of the women who visited it were from the popular classes, due to its location in Shubra, a popular quarter, it was considered a *baladi* (or low-class) mall and had a reputation for constant sexual harassment. Before closing, it was very popular, but only for window shopping, because the prices were double of those nonmall prices. One of the main reasons this mall failed was because it could not compete with "the kilometers long popular market and (small factory-sweatshops) located in the nearby street." Shop owners also blamed the poor design of the mall and overcrowding of shops for its failure. Al-Amir had one of the shortest lifespans: 2002 – 2005 (Abaza 2006, 254, 258).

The location of a mall can have a significant effect, not only on the success of the mall, but also the selection of people who visit. For example, Tal'at Harb Mall is an example of a popular mall in the city center which is dominated by male youth. Its location in the center of modern (nineteenth and twentieth century) Cairo gave access to an estimated 25,000 people per day, many of whom are from the popular classes. The youth rarely bought anything but rode up and down on the escalators. They came to see and be seen and to eat in the ground floor food court. Here sexual harassment and fighting were a concern, especially on Thursday nights and holidays (Abaza 2006, 238).

On the other hand, Al-Aqad Mall, in Nasr City, was designed to attract families who come for shopping, rather than youth who come to be entertained. As such there were no cinemas, restaurants or arcades. Even in a mall with 322,800 square feet and 250 shops, there was "no space for *flâneur*-ing"[18] (Abaza 2006, 273-4). Other malls in Nasr City were much more successful than in the city center. One reason was vehicular access. It was easier for residents of Mohandessin, which lies on the west side of Cairo, to reach Nasr city, which lies on the east side, by car than to go downtown due to traffic and lack of efficient arteries. The land was also cheaper in the suburbs which allowed megamalls such as Cairo City Stars to be built (Abaza 2006, 265). Cairo City Stars was filled with a mixture of men, women and families, mostly from the upper middle and upper-classes, and it lacked the blatant sexual harassment found in lower class malls like Tal'at Harb Mall.[19] On the other hand, the Al-Aqad Mall attempted to control unwanted (and status reducing) behaviors by excluding spaces favored by loitering youth, especially young men, such as game rooms and cinemas.

The pinnacle of Egyptian shopping malls is clearly Cairo's City Stars Mall and it is emblematic of retail aspirations in Egypt. As the largest mall in Egypt[20], the 2010 renovation and expansion dramatically increased it size and notoriety. Its original construction dates to 2004 and its popularity and success compelled the owners to expand it. The new mall consists of over 1.6 million square feet of gross leasable space, 2 indoor amusement areas (totaling over 80,000 square feet), a 21-screen cinema, over 500 enclosed parking spaces and 643 stores. The mall is part of a larger complex which

[18] Abaza does not evaluate the success of Al-Aqad mall. Comparing the relative success of Cairo malls which have and do not have entertainment facilities would be a worthwhile pursuit for future research.
[19] Based on visits to Cairo City Stars Mall, June - July 2007, December 2010.
[20] Based on ICSC Shopping Center Directory, March 16, 2011 – Africa, Middle East, Turkey.

includes 790 luxury hotel rooms (InterContinental Cairo Citystars), 311 western style hotel rooms (Holiday Inn Cairo City Stars) and Staybridge Suites Cairo. There is also over 600,000 square feet of AAA office space and parking for an additional 6,000 cars (Citystars 2011). The major anchors include a Spinney's Hypermarket, Virgin Records Megastore, and Khan al-Khalili Treasures (which includes outlets for the same merchants who sell goods in the traditional bazaar, Khan al-Khalili). The mall is organized around a seven story atrium with glass elevators and escalators. The drama of the interior environment was increased by adding additional atria and shop space with the renovations. [21]

Security and Status

During the colonial period (1883 - 1952), cosmopolitan culture was only available to a small segment of the population, but under Nasser (1956 - 1970) consumerism was expanded to incorporate the middle class, and even more of the population was able to participate as Sadat (1970 - 1981) opened Egypt's economy. The consumer culture, derived from the *Infitah,* was available to lower classes mostly through migrating to work in other countries (especially Saudi Arabia). Now, the most of the segments of the population can participate in consumer culture through visiting malls (Abaza 2006, 287). The high-end international stores, luxury construction materials, high prices, scrupulous cleanliness and security are indicators of a place meant to attract high-class clientele. Yet these things are also desirable to the middle classes who wish to be "elevated" by participating in high-end spaces. Thus, going to the mall is not simply a mundane chore, but an activity whose aura of exclusivity was perceived to increase social status.

[21] Site visits conducted June - July, 2007 and December, 2010.

In order to be exclusive, some people must be excluded. According to Abaza's research, people state that malls are open to everyone, but they do not want "riff-raff" and "*baladi*" people in the malls. It was within this contradiction that mall managers had to negotiate between openness and exclusivity. The manager of Arkadia Mall explained the problems with allowing entrance to everyone.

> It is this sort of public…which often steals electricity bulbs and water mixers from the public toilets. They are "the undesired 'class D' while the mall only wants to attract classes A and B." He also stated that undesirables from Sabtiyyah and Bulaq have no manners whatsoever, and use the public toilets to have baths. They use the liquid soap to wash their hair. That is why Arkadia Mall is in constant struggle with its outer surrounding (Abaza 2006, 276).

In fact, in 2005, he instructed mall security to "filter the public through appearance (*bil shakl*). *Galabeyyas*, flip-flops, and popular looking attires were good enough reasons to stop what he thought to be the 'invading' public" (Abaza 2006, 276). Later these restrictions had to be removed because of the influx of visiting Gulf residents who also wore traditional *galabeyyas*. These Gulf customers were wealthy and had high-social standing despite their traditional dress.

While one of the jobs of security personnel was to "filter" the public to keep out the lower classes, the personnel themselves were usually drawn from the same social strata. Some of the security personnel even had university degrees but because of their lack of connections, they were not able to find white collar jobs. In Tiba Mall, for example, most of the security guards came from Upper Egypt and had so little status and/or money that they slept in the parking garage. Paradoxically, the people most directly responsible for maintaining the respectability and status of malls were employees with little or no status of their own.

There was little recognition that security personnel could be curtailing people's rights and the public was generally appreciative of security even though there is little street crime in Cairo. That said, security, in terms of life safety was not always secure. Abaza notes the 1997 fire in Horreya Mall in which three people died and 273 people were injured because the exits were insufficient(ArabicNews.com 1997) (Abaza 2006, 289). As Salcedo mentioned, the appearance of security is often more important than actual security.

Status and "Elevation"

For both rich and poor, one of the most important aspects in creating a feeling of "elevation" in a mall came from the separation from the rest of the city. To gain entrance to malls, a person did not have to come from the upper-classes as long as he or she could dress like middle class (or higher) people. Thus, people from the lower or lower middle classes who became more affluent, but who did not have class standing could increase their status through visiting malls (Abaza 2006, 275).

> These are clean spaces where youth can socialize and simply move around. These young men and women can still originate from the '*ashwa'iyyat* (slums, unplanned, scattered areas) but once in these walled off, exclusive spaces, they are offered a simulation and an elevation (through dress), a feeling that they can participate in the better world, even if it is merely window shopping (Abaza 2006, 240).

Mall spaces allowed people from a variety of classes to emulate the upper-classes, and the consumerist culture allowed access to all who could purchase clothing and accessories to look like they belong.

The malls could also be vehicles for upward mobility for workers from the lower classes. Despite low pay, working in the mall provided them with jobs that they

perceived to be safe (which was especially important for women), clean, and protected because they were off the street. The sales clerks' salaries started at 150 LE and could have reached 450 LE with a possibility for 750[22] LE for a few who earned commissions. This was less than half of what a domestic servant earned. Even though the pay was modest, it did allow access to a small amount of cash for lower-class girls in particular. "That malls are gendered spaces is a recurrent theme in consumer studies, but that malls could be viewed as offering social mobility and an image of the 'modern', presentable and fashionable salesperson, needs further research" (Abaza 2006, 84). Abaza's argument about malls providing the possibility of social mobility highlights the difference between status and wealth. Working in malls did not provide sufficient money to raise one's living standard, but did impart a less tangible "elevation." Economically speaking, shopkeepers may not have moved up to the middle or upper-middle class, but their association with modernity and consumerism located them higher than others of similar income. Similarly, if two people came from the same class, the one working in a mall may have been able to increase his or her status, even if the other one earned more money. Thus, because the space was restricted and separated from the street, working in mall was more honorable than other more profitable jobs and was associated with ascending social class.

Malls and other elite spaces allowed upper-class people, especially single women to have a public social life without losing status. In Anouk de Koning's research on elite coffee shops in Cairo, she found that the coffee shop was a second home to many modern upper middle and upper-class single women (Koning 2006, 222). Within these spaces women were free to spend long hours in mixed groups and even wear clothing which exposed legs or arms. This was acceptable as long as "the class standing of those

[22] 150 LE is about $27US, 450 LE is about $82US, 750 LE is about $136US, in 2011.

involved was beyond question" (Koning 2009, 139). Class standing implied "women (and men) from a high social level [who] knew how to conduct mixed-gender interactions properly, since it constituted part of their cosmopolitan, yet respectable class normalcy" (Koning 2009, 140). This means that excluding the lower class was essential to creating a "safe" atmosphere and the elite nature of these coffee shops made this possible. First, the high prices for coffee and snacks excluded the majority of the population. Second, the modern décor and upscale locations, such as in malls, reinforced the difference between elite coffee shops and *awhawi baladi* (traditional coffee shops) which were the domain of men. An *ahwa* is typically associated with the lower classes, but men from the upper-classes can reaffirm their masculinity in traditional coffee shops which are considered unsuitable for women of any class (Peterson 2011). The reason it was so important to exclude lower-class men from the elite coffee shops, was so that the upper-class women who inhabited them could be free from "the gaze." The gaze is

> an active polluting and defiling agent that physically impacts the female body. It [is], moreover, able to impute a bad reputation and suggest a lack of respectability. These threats were crucially connected to the presence of non-upper-middle class others, those who were perceived to be of a lower 'social' or 'cultural level' and were therefore seen as unable to grasp, and likely to defile the subtly negotiated respectable public presence of young upper-middle class women (Koning 2009, 146).

In practice this meant upper-middle class women must not only avoid popular cafés but also, they must avoid "waiting alone in a public space. Waiting alone in open public spaces was tantamount to inviting sexual innuendos, and thus opened women up not only to physical defilement,[23] but also the symbolic tarnishing of being seen as open for sexualized contact" (Koning 2009, 146-47). Thus, for women of the upper-classes,

[23] Physical defilement such as groping. Although street violence such as rape is relatively rare in Egypt, "the street" is feared as a place where one could be raped.

luxurious surroundings helped define the space as theirs, but the most important factor in creating welcoming space for them was the absence of the uncultured male whose presence would pollute them.

Dating and Other Perversions

In a nondating society, shopping malls gave youth a chance to mix with the opposite sex and participate in an elevated lifestyle (Figure 3.7). Youth strolled up and down the corridors and in the entertainment areas of the mall looking for partners. "It is in these newly created spaces of consumption that flirting, mixing, spending time or simply gazing while standing on terraces would be taking place" (Abaza 2006, 235). These opportunities for "sexual perversion" are a great concern for "officials and religious preachers." Abaza notes the fears of Western cultural invasion and the relaxing of morals in public spaces. "The press is on a witch-hunt, infantilizing women and youth, who are thought to be easily perverted and therefore have to be constantly watched." Additionally, the press has been overly concerned with illicit unions, sexual harassment and sexual behavior in public. Although she is critical of the press's obsession and exaggeration of this topic she does note a "relaxation of norms" which is evidenced by Cairene youth (even wearing the *hijab*) holding hands and kissing in public. "While the 1970s witnessed a growing policing and segregation of public space, which coincided with the ascendance of Islamism, the 1990s witnessed a growing availability of such shaped space and a new form of 'mixing' of norms and tastes (Abaza 2006, 293)." The desire to participate in "modern life" and the religious/cultural pressures on young women increased the tension between the space inside the mall and outside. Abaza often

witnessed women removing their *hijabs* before beginning work as store clerks or cashiers and then reinstalling them before going home.

> This masquerade says a lot about how young women have to negotiate between different lifestyles. The same thing can be noticed among young girls who change their dress of their school uniform according to place. This duality and constant changing of attire, in order to adapt to the two worlds, the inside/outside – the dense, highly socially controlled, poor, popular quarters versus the modern public spheres of work in malls – needs more study (Abaza 2006, 292-3).

Similar to the Iranian concerns about dating and flirting as discussed by Khosravi, the opportunities provided by shopping malls for young people to rendezvous are problematic in Egypt as well. However, the opportunities for dating or at least the belief in the possibility are one of the things which made malls so popular with young people.

Conclusion

The modernity embodied in Egyptian shopping malls extended beyond their architecture and brought about new forms of spatial identity. This form of modernity was linked to the West through its strong consumer culture but was more directly related to Saudi Arabia and Dubai. These two countries have set the standards for a modern consumer life to which Egypt has been slowly assimilating. The goods found in Egyptian malls were typically high-end merchandise with international brand names, the possession of which signified modern and elite status. Yet the space of the malls was even more important than the goods found therein. For more affluent people, malls became a place where they could reaffirm their status and be separated from the harsh conditions of the street including weather, pollution and "the gaze." For people of lower classes, malls provided opportunities to increase their status. Because entry was free, they could enjoy the same environmental benefits as upper-class people and inhabit the same

spaces. This caused a sense of "elevation" and makes malls extremely popular. Additionally, malls were popular for youth who wished to see and be seen by the opposite sex. Here they could play out fantasies of meeting girls or guys. In Egypt, the mall represented a break with the past, increased social freedom, and upscale surroundings.

Figure 3.1 - Atrium of Golestan Mall, Tehran, Iran (Natasha Fallahi, 2006).

Figure 3.2 - Dubai Mall Aquarium and Underwater Zoo, Dubai, United Arab Emirates. A child touches the world's largest acrylic panel with reflection of three stories of shops. Built 2008 (2010).

Figure 3.3 - Indoor ski slope at Mall of the Emirates, Dubai, United Arab Emirates, built 2005 (2008).

Figure 3.4 - McDonald's restaurant in Faisaliya Mall, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Separate lines allow men and women to order independently and the sections are divided by an opaque panel. Built 2000 (2010).

Figure 3.5 - Women's clothing store closed for afternoon prayer. Faisaliyah Mall, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (2010).

Figure 3.6 - Seven-story atrium of Cairo's City Stars Shopping Mall. Egypt's largest mall and Africa's second largest. Built 2004, expanded 2010 (2010).

Figure 3.7 - Young couples in City Centre Mall, Alexandria, Egypt (2010).

Table 3.1 – Shopping Malls in the Middle East by Date of Construction.[24]

Date	Number	Percentage
2000 – 2011	195	74.71%
1990 – 1999	51	19.54%
1980 – 1989	13	4.98%
1970 – 1979	2	0.76%

Table 3.2 – Number of Shopping Malls Constructed per Year in Dubai.[25]

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2011								
2010								
2009								
2008								
2007								
2006								
2005								
2004								
2003								
2002								
2001								
2000								
1999								
1998								
1997								
1996								
1995								
1994								
1993								
1992								
1991								
1990								

[24] This definition of the Middle East differs from that of the ICSC and includes North Africa and Turkey. March 19, 2011 Shopping Center Directory was used to create this chart using the directory titled "Middle East," "Turkey," and "Africa." The data attempted to include all of North Africa, but no country other than Egypt in North Africa lists any shopping centers. Possible variances in data may occur because the ICSC does not list shopping malls which are no longer operational – thus some early shopping malls will not appear on this list. ICSC does not differentiate between Shopping Centers and Shopping Malls and both have been included in this chart. Source: ICSC Shopping Center Directory, 2011.

[25] Source: International Council of Shopping Centers, Shopping Center Directory – United Arab Emirates, June 2011. This chart reflects only existing shopping centers and does not include centers which have gone out of business.

Table 3.3 – Largest Shopping Centers in the Middle East. [26]

Name	City	Country	Date opened	Size (in square feet)	World Ranking
Dubai Mall	Dubai	UAE	2008	2,800,000	9
Dubai Festival City	Dubai	UAE	2007	2,800,000	21
Dalma Mall	Abu Dhabi	UAE	2010	2,700,000	25
Mall of the Emirates	Dubai	UAE	2005	2,399,997	39
Abu Dhabi Mall	Abu Dhabi	UAE	2001	2,368,080	41
Granada Center	Riyadh	Saudi Arabia	2008	2,152,800	51
The Pearl Qatar Project	Doha	Qatar	2008	2,000,000	61
The Avenue	Kuwait City	Kuwait	2007	1,829,865	83
The Forum	Istanbul	Turkey	2009	1,722,226	101
Mall of Dhahran	Dhahran	Saudi Arabia	2005	1,625,350	122
Al Wadha Mall	Abu Dhabi	UAE	2007	1,614, 600	129
Bahrain City Centre	Jidhafs	Bahrain	2007	1,614,587	132
Seef Mall	Karbabad	Bahrain	1997	1,453,140	196
Al Othaim Mall	Damman	Saudi Arabia	2008	1,350,978	248
Cairo City Stars	Cairo	Egypt	2004	1,345,037	253
Marina Mall	Abu Dhabi	UAE	2001	1,291,669	-
Bin Sougat Centre	Dubai	UAE	2001	1,291,669	-
Deira City Centre	Dubai	UAE	1995	1,291,669	-
Al Rashid Mall	Al Khobar	Saudi Arabia	1995	1,291,669	-
Jordan Mall	Amman	Jordan	N/A	1,291,669	-
City Centre Doha	Doha	Qatar	2001	1,291,669	-
Isfahan City Center	Isfahan	Iran	2011	1,237, 850	-
Kiryat Ono Mall	Tel Aviv	Israel	2007	1,227,086	-
Jamjoon Commercial Center	Jeddah	Saudi Arabia	1998	1,213,792	-
Ibn Battuta Mall	Dubai	UAE	2005	1,184,579	-
Capacity Shopping Center	Istanbul	Turkey	2007	1,722,226	-
Mall of Arabia	Jeddah	Saudi Arabia	2008	1,172,728	-
ANAKmal	Ankara	Turkey	2006	1,162,512	-
Cevahir Shopping Centre	Istanbul	Turkey	2005	1,151,738	-
Rimal Mall	Riyadh	Saudi Arabia	2006	1,151,738	-
Green Plaza	Alexandria	Egypt	2002	1,085,002	-

[26] Based on ICSC Shopping Center Directory, March 16, 2011 – Middle East, Africa, Turkey, World.

Table 3.3 (Continued).

Name	City	Country	Date opened	Size (in square feet)	World Ranking
China Mart	Riyadh	Saudi Arabia	2006	1,076,391	-
Arkadia Hilton	Cairo	Egypt	2000	1,076,391	-
Damman Mall	Al Khobar	Saudi Arabia	2007	1,076,391	-

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF ALEXANDRIA AND RETAIL SPACE

Alexandria History

Established in 331 BC and continuously inhabited since, Alexandria remained an important port city until the Ayyubid (1174 - 1250) period when the canal linking the Nile to the Mediterranean Sea silted up and trade shifted to Rosetta and Damietta (Awad 2008, 64-65). After this, Alexandria began to shrink in both importance and size, but was revived again by Mohammad Ali (r. 1805 - 1848) who moved his capital to Alexandria from Cairo and developed it as a modern city. Based on these developments, the "Cosmopolitan City" (1830 - 1960) was born. During this period, the city boasted an ethnically diverse population and a modern life-style similar to that of major European cities (at least for the wealthy). This period has fascinated scholars, but little research has been done on postcosmopolitan Alexandria. This chapter will outline the changes in urban form after 1970 and the specific history of retail in Alexandria.

Alexander the Great established the city at the western edge of the Nile Delta near Lake Mareotis. The city's port was protected by a long rocky island that contained the famous Lighthouse of Alexandria on the eastern edge of the island (Empereur 2002, 14-17). The layout was a typical Greek grid pattern of streets with seven main streets roughly parallel to the shoreline and eleven intersecting streets (Abdel-Salam 1995, 174).

Under Ptolemy II who finished construction on the city (r. 283 - 246 BC), a causeway called the *Heptastadion* was built connecting the island to the mainland. After the Arabs invaded in 641, attention shifted from Alexandria to Al-Fustat (Cairo) as the Egyptian urban center and centuries of neglect began. During this period, silt accumulated along the *Heptastadion* eventually forming new land and transforming the lighthouse's island into a peninsula (Abdel-Salam 1995, 175 -8). During the reign of Ibn Tulun (r. 868 - 884) new smaller city walls were constructed which halved the enclosed urban area (Empereur 2002, 69). The population continued to decline which resulted in large tracts of land with the city walls. After the conquest in 1517, the Ottomans moved outside of the walls and built a "new city" on the empty land of the peninsula and gradually, the declining population shifted into this area (Figure 4.1) (Empereur 2002, 77). The city was limited to the peninsula until the French arrived in 1799 and began expanding beyond the Turkish Town back into the area formerly enclosed by the old Arab city walls. Urban expansion continued in this same direction when Mohammed Ali began his modernizing campaign.

When Mohammed Ali, an Ottoman vizier, became the ruler of Egypt, he established Alexandria as the capital and initiated several ambitious building campaigns to create a modern European city. He built new docks, a palace, restored the silted-up canal, and encouraged foreign immigration. The center of the new modern city was the Place des Consuls which was designed by Francesco Mancini in 1834 (Figures 4.2 & 4.3). This plaza, now called Mansheiya Plaza, is a long narrow open space which was surrounded by large European styled block buildings housing the European Consuls (Empereur 2002, 88-93). The city grew so much in the first half of the nineteenth century

such that by the 1860s the city had spread far enough to the east to necessitate a railroad (Empereur 2002, 88-93). After the city was bombed by the British in response to the Urabi Revolt in 1882, many of these original buildings were destroyed but there was an active rebuilding campaign and the new buildings were built in European styles. The major urban transformation was the addition of Urabi Plaza, which had been occupied by buildings before the bombing (Awad 2008). Located perpendicular to Mansheiya Plaza, this new plaza connected it to the sea. In the nineteenth century, Alexandria grew from a minor port city to a major port city and a flourishing urban municipality.

The second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century are considered the pinnacle of Alexandrine urbanism. European architects, especially Italians were brought in to design monumental buildings which ranged from classic to modern in style. The central city was filled with cafes, shops, and department stores and one could participate in rich urban life. The city continued to grow west, south and east as allowed by the geography but east was the direction of preference. Villas for the middle and upper-class were built in the eastern suburbs but have been replaced by apartment towers as the wealthy new construction moved further east (Abdel-Salam 1995). The cosmopolitan city came to an end around the middle of the twentieth century (Empereur 2002, 120) and the city has been considered to be in decline since then. In spite of the "sense of decline," Alexandria has grown rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1950, there were about 1 million inhabitations (Butler 2011) and in 2011 official estimates stated that the city had over 4 million people (CAPMAS 2011) and extended approximately twenty-five km along the Mediterranean shore. Many local

residents estimated the actual population was closer to 6 million[27] and the total urban developed area extended about 90 miles along the coast. Limited by the topography, the city was very narrow and average width was three km wide and the widest point measured about five km from the sea to the City Center Mall along the Alexandria-Cairo Desert Highway (Figure 4.2).[28]

Little has been written recently about the morphology of the city, but it is clear from any superficial visit that cheap concrete high-rise buildings were overwhelming the urban fabric. The city has even been called "The city of 100,000 illegal buildings or the leaning towers of Alexandria" (Fouad 2011) because of the increased rate of substandard construction. Older buildings were being neglected and falling into ruin while buildings built twenty or thirty years ago have accumulated so much grime that they appeared much older. Several factors have contributed to the deterioration of the urban architecture. First, the beginning of the "decline" corresponds to the 1957 land reform and sequestration of assets of "foreigners" which caused a large exodus of people who had obtained foreign citizenship or association. Second, the 1963 rent control law froze rents at ridiculously low rates for which owners were unable to afford maintenance on the properties. Third, the 1967 and 1973 wars with Israel drained the state resources for repair and improvement of infrastructure. Forth, the government administration became more inefficient and Cairo-centric. On top of all of these factors, troubles with the economy since the financial crisis of 1985/6 further reduced attention to and resources for the urban fabric (Empereur 2002, 120-1).

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[27] I was informed over and over that the population was at least 6 million and sometimes as much as 10 million. Each person argued that the governorate routinely underestimates the population.
[28] As measured by Google Earth, Dec. 2011.

In contrast to the deterioration and shoddy workmanship, small portions of the city were flowering in 2010. New modern construction was limited mainly to the tourist areas and near high-end retail centers. There were also a few notable conservation projects. Since Alexandria has been a summer destination for wealthy Cairenes wishing to escape the heat, there were significant facilities for tourists, such that the shoreline was completely built up. This has caused problems for other parts of the city because the large structures block cooling breezes. The municipality was hoping to attract additional tourists by rebranding the city as Greek Heritage tourist city and by reconstructing the Corniche.[29] Monuments such as the Qait Bey Fort, which sits on the site of the former lighthouse of Alexandria, were restored and a new award winning internationally designed Library of Alexandria was built at the opposite end of the Corniche.[30] These two areas were well maintained tourist zones. Designs were also circulating to develop the entire area around the Library into a clean tourist-friendly zone.[31] The Alexandria Preservation Trust, established by Mohammed Awad in 1999 (Biblioteca Alexandrina 2012), focused on identifying and preserving architectural heritage from all of the periods and has produced several systematic surveys such as The Atlas of Alexandria ('Aoud and 'Atia 2007). Several small projects such as mosques and *okelles* have or were being preserved or restored, but this was not occurring on a neighborhood scale anywhere in Alexandria. Instead, the only district with a consistent level of upkeep was the newly built area along Alex-Cairo Desert Road near the City Centre Mall. Since the turn of the

[29] In 2010, there was a model located in the Alex-Med Research center which shows significant development of the current Corniche and additional construction on the peninsula which encloses the bay and is currently used by the military. Additionally, the municipality has installed Greek-themed sculptures in many of the roundabouts throughout the city.
[30] Designed by Norwegian architectural firm Snøhetta, and opened in 2002. http://www.snoarc.no/#/projects/27/true/all/image/944/ .
[31] Undated models and drawings on display in Alex-Med offices, 2010.

millennium, this area has sprouted several retail developments, a hospital, and a new upscale housing project, all of which were reasonably well maintained through 2011.[32] Additionally, Green Plaza Mall, located near the airport, and San Stefano Mall, on the waterfront east of downtown, both of which also included high-end hotels, also stood out as new and clean against the backdrop of dingy high-rise buildings.

Form of the Cosmopolitan City

The center of the cosmopolitan city formed the traditional downtown and shopping district of Alexandria. Mansheiya Plaza was considered the heart of the city, but the undisputed premier shopping street was Saad Zaghloul Street which connected Mansheiya Plaza through Urabi Plaza and continued to Midan Ramleh (of Ramleh Station) (Figure 4.3). At Midan Ramleh, the east-bound and west-bound tram lines met and formed an important transportation hub. Ramleh Station, Mansheiya Plaza and the street connecting them have been the commercial heart of Alexandria since the nineteenth century and symbolized the cosmopolitan city. Until the introduction of new types of shopping space, the Central Business District was not only the main shopping district but also the only place for shopping as a leisure activity. These districts figure prominently in the descriptive and nostalgic literature about the city of Alexandria. Within this space, the predominant form of retail was the individual shop along the street. Department stores were also prominent features in this area. Although there were only a few department stores, they were important urban places until the postrevolutionary policies of sequestration and nationalization contributed to their decline (Reynolds 2003, 177). A

[32] Based on Google Earth Historical Imagery, 2012 (2001-2012). The major developments correspond with the construction of City Centre Mall which opened in 2003.

third type of commercial space, the *okelle*, was a hybrid of "Islamic planning" and European style with ground floor shops and apartments located on upper floors. In addition to these three types of retail establishments, this area also included new shopping centers, informal and semiformal vending.

Almost nothing has been written about commerce in Alexandria's central business district since the 1960s so the records of the cosmopolitan city are important for understanding the context of contemporary Alexandria. The most valuable research on this topic was accomplished by Nancy Reynolds and is entitled *Commodity Cultures: Interweavings of Market Cultures, Consumption Practice and Social Power in Egypt, 1907-1961* (Reynolds 2003). Although her dissertation focuses on the practice of commerce, it includes the best documentation of department stores and shopping streets in twentieth century Egypt and addresses Alexandria specifically. Other valuable resources include architectural historians such as Robert Ilbert, Mohamad Awad, Christina Pallini and historians such as Uri Kupferschmidt and economists such as Robert Mabro. Travel guide books include surprisingly little valuable information about shopping districts in Alexandria, but nostalgic literature often includes interesting snippets of information about daily practice and shopping. Unfortunately, this body of writings reflects the experience of a small segment of the population, the upper class, upper-middle class and "foreigners;" most of whom left by the 1960s but from their experiences, one can glean some information about commercial space in Alexandria.

Esther Zimmerli Hardman, a Swiss woman who lived in Alexandria from 1935 - 1950 gives one of the most complete descriptions of the central business district and department stores:

> Whereas the tradesmen and shopkeepers of Ibrahimieh district would go about their business like any Oriental bazaar, in the center of town, however, commerce was carried out more along European lines.
>
> During school holidays, I loved to accompany my mother down town. The bus stop was barely five minutes away from our house. The blue bus would drive down Aboukir Street and finally turn into Fouad I Street. There, we would usually go to the Confiserie-Glacier Baudrot, where the Greek waiter would serve us a delicious ice cream on the covered terrace. Then we would walk to the Rue Chérif Pacha to the reputed Old England shop. If it were not for the fact that the staff spoke not only English, but also Arabic, French, Italian and sometimes even Greek, we would have thought ourselves in London's Piccadilly Circus! It sold the finest tweeds and quality woolen cloth for elegant winter tailoring, in addition to English soap and all kinds of Sheffield cutlery. Fine Wedgwood china would be on display in the most prominent position in the shop. Whilst my mother was being shown various rolls of Manchester tweed, I would remain transfixed in front of a shelf of children's china bearing a Peter Rabbit motif by Beatrix Potter, much loved by English children.
>
> Slightly further along the same street was Old England's French counterpart, Rivoli, which specialized in gifts. We would also often call in at a shop called Tawa which had a vast selection of quality handmade Oriental goods. The rue Chérif Pacha was renowned for its beautiful shops with their expensive displays. There were two jewelry shops, Horowitz and Zivy Frères. One day my parents entered the latter so that my mother could choose a piece of jewelry. She chose a gold brooch in the form of leaves surrounding a heart shaped precious stone. As she left, the jeweler congratulated her on her choice, '*Mabrouk*,' adding in French, '*Pour le petit coeur de votre mari*….' (Hardman 2008, 56-59).

Languages and the Cosmopolitan Space

Most of the nostalgic literature and oral histories concentrate on the cosmopolitan nature of Alexandria. One common theme for demonstrating the ethnic mixture of the city was to describe the different languages spoken and where one heard them. This was particularly apparent in the retail sector which catered to diverse clientele and was owned by "foreigners." Although French was the dominant language in department stores, saleswomen had to know several languages (Kupferschmidt 2007, 45). Mona Abaza notes that

> French became a gendered language, while the male members of the family spoke Arabic. However, several my uncles and my father studied law in France and mastered the language. Up to my generation, French was synonymous with good manners, civility and definitively; it was the ticket to a well-matched marriage (Abaza 2006, 127).

French was also the language of fashion, since Paris was considered the center of the fashion world. Thus, French was important for department stores. Lucienne Carasso Bulow, a Jewish woman of Greek descent who was born in Alexandria in 1946 explains,

> We spoke French when we went shopping in the stores. If we went to the grocer, we spoke Greek or Italian depending on the identity of the storeowner. We had an Italian dressmaker who came to the house (Dammond and Raby 2007, 65).

Similarly Albert Guetta, who was born in 1924, describes the different languages spoken,

> We all could speak it [Arabic] because we had to know Arabic to buy groceries, to talk to the men in the street, to the maids, and things like that (Dammond and Raby 2007, 160).

Ahmed Abou Zeid, an internationally recognized anthropologist, was born in 1921 in Alexandria. He explains how well integrated the "foreign" merchants were in their communities.

> There were a number of grocery shops on the road to Mex. They were mostly owned by Greeks and they used to sell alcohol. The families in the area and the shop owners maintained strong friendly relations. These families used to offer the shop owners, their specially prepared treats as well as *el-bashayer*. And the shop owners did likewise – when the occasion arose. When they got new kinds of cheese they send some, as a gift, to all the families in the neighborhood. Of course, there were also commercial reasons – if their neighbors like the taste of these sample gifts they'd buy these different kinds of cheese…The shop owners were all foreign, and the majority were Jews. The Jews played a very important and positive role in Egyptian cultural life. They always felt they were Egyptian. And after the 1952 Revolution, when most of them left Egypt, they were literally in tears because they were leaving (Awad and Hamouda 2006, 108, 110).

He is also one of the few people to discuss gendered space in the city center. He notes that women, both "foreign" and Muslim participated in public life, but this option was only open to women of a certain class.

> I used to go every now and then with my father to the Commercial Café. That is how I got to know the merchants. They used to order tea, coffee and shisha. But my father used to order a piece of cake for me, because I was only a kid at that time. The waiters were all Greek. The Egyptians came to work as waiters in the cafe business only after the war. Women also used to go to cafes. And it wasn't only the foreign ladies who went; there were also Egyptian ladies. But there was a general air of decency, and a sense of modesty. This sense of modesty was not only limited to the attitude of the Egyptian Moslem women. The foreign women also respected the customs and traditions of the local culture. Women went to Délices and Trianon or just went for walk and strolled down Fouad Street in front of the present Creativity Center. It used to be called the Mohamed Ali Club frequented by royalty; princes, pashas and ministers gathered there. The women who frequented these places were definitely cultured, of course, and belonged to a certain class- the middle class- and that was a cultured class, or they belonged to the upper-classes which were in trade or were the wives of foreigners (Awad and Hamouda 2006, 108-09).

Mohamed Ibrahim Abd el Samad who was born in 1930 in the Attarine district of Alexandria, illustrates the prevalence of foreigners, and hints at some of the injustices against Egyptians,

> Most of the foreigners were employees, not merchants. Whether they were Italians or Greeks or Australians, they worked in the water and electricity companies. The foreigners occupied the administrative posts, because the companies all belonged to them, and there was no public sector. Only a commercial sector. They were in charge of it all, whether the small or big shops. And the water works and electricity and the railway. They earned[33] well and lived much better than us. The Arab Alexandrians led a very bad life, because they were not educated. They were helpless and would not take part in commerce and employment. And who would employ them? The foreigners owned all the organizations, and they employed only foreigners like themselves. Even the railway, which was part of the governmental public sector, employed foreigners. The Egyptians would only sweep the floor…They used to call Attarine the foreigners' quarter. There were very few Egyptians there. Our house was full of Greeks, and this house and that house. I was a stranger among them. We, the Egyptians, were the strangers, not them! (Awad and Hamouda 2006, 103).

Although the city was heralded as a cosmopolitan city, there were limits to the integration. Omar Koreich who still lives in Alexandria describes the multiplicity of languages, the barriers to integration and the changes in taste.

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[33] Earned a good living.

> In those days, everyone knows, Alexandria was divided into the Arab town and the European city…When he was studying in England, my father fell in love with an English girl. But my grandmother would have none of it. I'm telling you this story because of all this talk about Alexandria being cosmopolitan. My grandmother wouldn't have her son marry an English girl, who was Christian…We met in the clubs and other places, and in charity events. It was another Alexandria, as they say. All the shopkeepers, everybody, spoke French. In Hannaux, nobody spoke Arabic. One said it was Europe. Chalons, Cicurel, Sednaoui – these stores were really elegant. It was Little Paris. More elegant and refined than Cairo…Each period has its nouveaux riches. There were the nouveaux riches of the First World War, of the Second World War, and so on. With time, they become the bourgeoisie. It is the same with the post revolution period. It was also a question of how the new bourgeois would live inside their homes. Unfortunately, it wasn't just their furniture that changed, but their whole way of life. The taste has declined. And we've lost our particular Alexandrian style, which was the Orient and the Occident at the same time (Awad and Hamoua 2006, 15-17).

Edward al-Kharrat, a novelist from Alexandria now living in Cairo remembers Alexandria as a clean beautiful city which has since fallen.

> The city center was very beautiful: rue Fouad, rue Cherif, now called Salah Salem Street. First of all these places were in very good taste, the shops, and the streets – they were not over-stocked nor were they busy and over-crowded. The streets of Alexandria were clean. When I used to go to Cairo, in the past, I was shocked by the dirt in Cairo. Rue Fouad was so clean, like a mirror! Actually, this was due to the Municipality which was made up of Egyptian officials as a majority, but also had Italian and Greek members. This Municipality was able to keep Alexandria clean. But it is a sorry sight now, saddening, to see the amount of dirt in Alexandria, nowadays. What happened to the people! (Awad and Hamouda 2006, 35).

In the prerevolutionary Alexandria, the high-end retail was dominated by Europe in language, customs, architecture, and customers. Shops and department stores in the city center were oriented towards Europe and the middle- and upper-class population who shopped there. French was the language of shopping, particularly among women, since it was also the language of fashion, but store clerks were also expected to speak other European languages in order to interact with the linguistically diverse shopping population.

Department Stores in Egypt and Alexandria

Before the introduction of the shopping mall, department stores were the embodiment of retail innovation and cosmopolitan culture. As such, they figure prominently in the memories of Alexandrians. In Egypt, the history of the department store is dominated by Jewish families. Sednaoui, which was owned by a Christian family from Syria was the only major exception. Jews, many of whom immigrated to Egypt from other parts of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, found wealth and status through commercial ventures. Families such as the Chemla, Cicurel, Dorra, Douec, Haim, Mizrahi, Najar, Piccotto, Romano, Setton, Shalom, Smouha and Toriel began exporting agricultural products such as cotton and importing finished products from Europe such as linens (Krämer 1989, 43). Jewish-owned department stores included Chemla, Cicurel, Cohenca, Gattegno, Adès, Lévi-Benzion, Orosdi-Back (now Omar Effendi), Stein, Simon-Arzt-Stores, Le Salon Vert and La Petite Reine (Krämer 1989, 51). The first department store in Egypt, Orosdi-Back, was opened in 1856 by Sigmund Mayer, an Austrian. By 1928, Cairo had seven large department stores; five of which were French-owned: Le Louvre, Le Printemps, le Bon Marché, Orosdi-Back and Chemla (Kupferschmidt, European 2007, 16-17). The earliest and most elaborate department stores were located in Cairo but Les Grandes Magasins Cicurel et Oreco also had an early branch in Alexandria (Krämer 1989, 44). These department stores were oriented towards Paris both in terms of goods and décor. "The Parisian style accompanied the development of the department stores Sednaoui, Ciccurel, Hannaux, which proposed not only clothing but also objects of decoration, molded crystal, which came to transform the interiors" (Ilbert 1996, 545). Like American and European department stores, the Egyptian stores

were typically large, multistory retail spaces which displayed a wide array merchandise. They allowed free entry without the expectation of purchase, fixed prices and a multitude of noninvasive salesclerks. "In the later part of the nineteenth century, they displayed the latest modern amenities, such as large display windows in front, and show-cases inside, impressive staircases, electrical lighting, elevators, and, sometimes, big cupolas and domes, and other ostentatious architectural features" (Kupferschmidt, European 2007, 12). Department stores were fully modern in business practices, architecture and merchandise.

The department store also introduced Egyptians to mass-produced consumer goods and stimulated desire for these goods which affected people in almost all economic stratum. Both poor and wealthy needed goods for daily living and for special occasions (such as weddings). The status of the shopper and purpose of the purchase affected where people shopped. For the wealthy, summer trips to Europe or department stores in Cairo and Alexandria provided stylish clothing, while more mundane items and groceries were purchased from local stores. Less affluent people purchased special occasion items from local department stores and daily living goods from neighborhood stores as well. "Department-store shoppers could include a wide range of people, from native lower-middle class brides shopping sales for cloth to make wedding gowns or fathers buying holiday clothing, to foreign men picking up travel items they had forgotten at home" (Reynolds 2003, 240). So people of a wide variety of economic situations could participate in the luxurious retail space of the department store.

Although individual department stores emphasized different merchandise, there were many similar characteristics in the planning and design of the stores in general.

Important departments were highlighted and given spatial priority with the most significant goods being displayed on the first floor. Drapery and sewing notions (buttons, beads, thread, etc.) were given the prime locations. For example, the Chemla store in Cairo:

> when built in 1907 in a fin-de-siècle French style, used European architectural elements and central displays of French-style goods (like bottled perfume and gloves) to emphasize and highlight its major lines of textiles, notions, and hosiery. Constructing a 'Europeanized' context for these staple goods helped draw customer attention to them and endowed them with a more 'elegant' and 'worldly' connotation. Ready-made clothing and 'European' *haute couture* were also featured prominently in the store (Reynolds 2003, 136-139).

Cloth, drapery, household linens, lingerie, men's furnishings, women's accessories, toiletries and china were the most important merchandise. Slightly less important goods included jewelry, silverware, clocks, furniture, utensils, corsets, hosiery, gifts, ready-to-wear clothing and household furnishings. The least important goods included shoes, small stoves, paints, oils, repair parts, plumbing, appliances and toys. The lower sales goods were shunted to the upper floors and back of the stores (Reynolds 2003, 136-139).

A sixty year old woman remembered shopping for clothes when she was a child. They went to Omar Effendi, Cicurel, Salon Vert and the small shop of Hannaux [as opposed to the main store in Mansheiya]. She went with her parents and sometimes with the whole family. There were four Hannaux branches. The store in Mansheiya had a separate place for pants and clothing outside of the store. It was in a big store in front of the main department store. It was beautiful [the main store], very nice and old. The second branch was in Camp Caesar and small shop located on Sharia Fouad. The forth

shop was very small and located on Sharia Sesostris.[34] Similarly, Esther Zimmerli Hardman describes how integral department stores were to cosmopolitan life:

> For everyday purchases, there was a choice of several department stores. The Grands Magasins Chalons and Oreco both resembled French department stores, whereas Sednaoui, an older store founded in Cairo in 1878, was situated in the rue Sidi Metwalli. In addition to the Alexandria branch of Sednaoui, a building of several floors, there were five other branches throughout Egypt. We mostly frequented Hannaux, where one could find anything one's heart desired from Dijon *pain d'épice* to my mother's favorite perfume, Quelques Fleurs, by Houbigant. Naturally, there were many other specialized shops like the Salon Vert for quality fabrics, and the Maison Francaise, the oldest shop in Egypt which specialized in knitting wool. Those looking for books could go to the Cité du Livre, or the Victoria Stationery & Bookstores. There were also some shops of international renown such as Bata shoe shop and Etam which sold stockings and fine lingerie….Whilst the women were busy shopping, the menfolk would be filling the city's numerous cafes, reading the newspaper (Hardman 2008, 58-59).

For the Egyptian elites, department stores provided an important opportunity to shop for luxury goods locally and for the less affluent they offered goods for important occasions such as weddings and holidays.

Nationalization and the Department Store

The history of the department store in Egypt has been tied to national and international politics. In the beginning, department stores benefited with close ties to Europe, particularly France, and the world of French fashion. When Egypt pushed out the last vestiges of colonialism, department stores were caught up in the nationalistic fever which eventually led to the government takeover of the stores. The department store was the symbol of the modern city and its rise was intertwined with the growth of "Egyptian Jewish capitalism." Department stores remained primarily Jewish-owned until they were nationalized in the 1960's even though employees were Muslim, Christian and Jewish.

[34] Interview April 18, 2010.

"Department stores in the period between the 1900s and 1950s witnessed something of a double change: on one hand, most grew substantially larger and became more prominent in Egyptian commerce; on the other hand, they then (rather abruptly) moved from being considered 'national' stores to 'enemies of the state'" because of their owners' ethnicity or ties to Europe (Reynolds 2003, 108-9). One political change that affected the stores was The Company Law of 1947 which stated that 75% of salaried employees, 90% of workers, and 51% of owners must be Egyptian. This affected many Jewish businesses, particularly department stores which employed large numbers of "foreigners," because many of the Jews were allied with European states or stateless (Dammond and Raby 2007, 11). Most of the businesses were left alone after the 1952 revolution, but after the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, the Suez War, and the confrontation with Israel, Britain and France, many companies associated with foreign ties were sequestered (Kupferschmidt, European 2007, 50).

As the Egyptian government took over the department stores, their character changed and they lost status. Abaza notes that stores became gray and dismal which was partly because the stores only had national goods to sell. With the arrival of the *Infitah*, upper- and middle-class people began to prefer "boutiques and imported quality goods. This explains why department stores were said to face further decline" (Kupferschmidt, European 2007, 50). Unfortunately, during this period it appears that most of the company records for the department stores were lost, so, little of their history can be reconstructed.[35] The stores remained under government management until the 1990s when there was an attempt to privatize them. By then the stores were in such decline, that

[35] Nancy Reynolds notes that she searched in vain for department store records and as well believes them to be lost. I was also unable to find any additional primary source documents.

the plans to privatize them failed because there were no buyers. Some stores were remodeled but a second attempt at sale failed as well. It was not until 2007 that Omar Effendi, the largest department store, was purchased by a Saudi company. Egyptian tastes had changed and they no longer considered department stores to be the home of modern goods. The only market that they retained was durable goods since people still preferred to purchase them at department stores such as Omar Effendi and Salon Vert (Abaza 2006).

Chemla

Chemla Department store began with Arab-Jewish brothers in Monastir, Tunisia, who first sold imported French merchandise. In 1890, they established a fixed shop in Tunisia, and in 1907 moved to Cairo "hoping to capitalize on the cotton booms"[36] (Reynolds 2003, 126). Business was insecure until World War I when Chemla "profited from the inflation caused by the First World War. Chemla especially benefited from its large stock of merchandise (and from buying up some stocks of bankrupted competitors) during the blockades" (Reynolds 2003, 126). From then on, it was considered one of Cairo's "top department stores" but never competed in size with larger stores such as Circurel, Sidnawi or Omar Effendi (Reynolds 2003, 126). The store was run by family members and the women and children of the Chemla family were outfitted in the latest fashions to act as advertising. The store remained under family ownership until it was sold in 1946. In 1964, one member of the Chemla family described the richness of the Cairo store's interior,

[36] The Cairo shop was established during the boom period, before the Crash of 1907.

> 'All the halls [were built] in marble, the columns in the Louis XVI style, with acanthus leaves, for that period it was an unheard-of luxury, the display windows....[T]he store had the ground floor [of the building], and the first floor, which was very large, and...there were three floors above that of very, very beautiful and spacious apartments. On the ground floor there was a notions [department], which was very, very important in bringing in customers [*mercerize très très bien achalandée*]; the cloth [department]; on the right and on the left there was the hosiery/haberdashery department [*rayon de bonneterie*] for men and for women; and even further beyond special items for men; and more on the inside was the lingerie. The back of the store was occupied by furniture on the left and the shoe department on the right, and all that with the counters in polished mahogany wood, and with the display cases [*vitrines*], and in the middle of the store was the perfume department, with ravishing display cases in which we displayed the perfumes...' (Reynolds 2003, 137-38) (brackets by Reynolds).

The Cairo store demonstrated the typical elements of Egyptian department store planning which were also found in Alexandria. The most important goods were located near the entrance with less popular items located on upper floors or in the back, and the entire ensemble was decorated in a rich French style to signify its ties to the center of fashion.

Omar Effendi

Omar Effendi, originally named Orosdi-Back, was jointly established by Adolf Orosdi, a Hungarian army officer and the Back family of Austro-Hungarian origin in Istanbul 1855. The next year they founded a store in Cairo. Other stores were built throughout the Middle East, including Baghdad and Beirut (Effendi 2008), and branches were built in Alexandria and Tanta in the 1880s (Kupferschmidt, European 2007, 26). The flagship Cairo store was built in 1906 on Abdelaziz and Rushdi Pasha Streets. Originally the lower floors were used as retail space while the upper two floors were reserved for wholesale activity but soon all six floors were needed for retail selling. In 1920, when the ownership changed so did the name. After that it was known as Omar Effendi. In 1928 the store in Alexandria continued the practice of selling wholesale,

semiwholesale, and retail (Kupferschmidt, European 2007, 30). Because of its location near major public transportation in Cairo and other department stores such as Cicurel and Sidnawi which attracted the highest class customers, Omar Effendi attracted upper-middle class clientele for its retail sales (Kupferschmidt, Who needed 2007, 184).

Like other department stores, it was nationalized in 1957 but instead of withering under government management, Omar Effendi "expanded from some 20 stores in 1961 to 83 outlets and 15 depots …all over the country. It thus became the largest chain in Egypt, and attained a rather large turnover" (Kupferschmidt, Who Needed 2007, 186). Then in 1996 there was an attempt to privatize Omar Effendi but it was difficult to find a buyer because of "overly bureaucratic management, unsold stock, inflated employment rolls, as well as a condition on the part of the governmental Egyptian company to protect the rights of the employees" (Kupferschmidt, Who needed 2007, 186). In 2007 the company was privatized by a group of Saudi investors, The Anwal United Trading Company Limited of Saudi Arabia (AUTCL). The AUTCL purchased 90% of the company shares from the government of Egypt who retained 10% ownership. In order to ensure its continued relevance, the store was completely overhauled. Anwal's plan was to continue to market inexpensive goods as well as higher priced goods in all of its sixty-nine locations so that it would cater to "each class, gender and race." In order to reach the luxury market, Omar Effendi plans to also restyle five to ten of its stores to become "flagship stores" in order to attract higher-end shoppers with an emphasis on luxury and imported goods. Proud of its standardization, Omar Effendi's 2011 website bragged that all of the "stores will all have the same concept elements in display, organization and running of the store. The same look and feel will be incorporated in all of the senses,

from the apple incense to the smooth oriental grooves playing in the background to make for the most pleasant of shopping experiences" (Effendi 2008). Omar Effendi lost the high status bestowed upon department stores in the cosmopolitan era, but it remained one of the most notable department stores in twenty-first century.

Omar Effendi was positioned at the most prominent location of any department store in Alexandria and was the second most discussed store among informants. The store sat within the ground floor of several high-rise buildings and spanned the entire width of the block from Sharia Saad Zaghloul to Chamber of Commerce Street (Sharia el Ghorfa el Togariya). The side facing Sharia Saad Zaghloul appeared to have been designed as the front but had no entrance in 2010. The main part of the façade, and that which appeared oldest, consisted of a façade applied to two buildings and the space between them consisting of three equal arched windows articulated with ribbed pilasters and ogee keystones (Figure 4.4). The signage above the central arch was written in Arabic and Latin characters in green and orange, respectively. At the corner of one of the buildings, there was a large modern (1950s or later) display window and a sign in Arabic in blue proclaiming Omar Effendi as well, but curiously, there were three unrelated shops in between these two. On Chamber of Commerce Street facing Saad Zaghloul Square, the façade was completely different from the arched façade (Figure 4.5). Similar in style to the corner on Saad Zaghloul, the Chamber of Commerce façade used very clean, modern (midcentury) lines with no applied ornament. Large windows punctuated the façade and a base of gray stone went half way up the windows. The upper portion of the store was a creamy off-white color, similar to the upper portion of the building. The window frames, roll down doors, architectural accents and signage (in Arabic and Latin characters) were

all in blue. While this façade appeared to be decades newer than the Saad Zaghloul Street facade, its condition was much poorer, particularly due to peeling paint, and its design felt like the back entrance to the store. Inside, the store has been completely remodeled and no traces of its former elegance remained.[37] The floors were tiled in white, and little color has been used throughout the store. The first floor sold primarily appliances, household goods and clothes while cheap furniture was located on the mezzanine level. Although the store interior was new and clean, its lack of cohesive design or interior partitioning gave it a cheap impersonal appearance.

Hannaux

The Hannaux family began a haberdashery and toy shop in the traditional commercial center of Cairo, Al-Muski Street, in 1882. This developed into a dry-goods store called Au Petit Bazar. In 1887, it was sold to a former employee, Moreno Cicurel, from Izmir, and became Les Grands Magasin Circurel and Oreco (Kramer 1989, 44). In 1930, the flagship Hannaux store was built in Alexandria's Mansheiya district on the corner of Noubar and El Ka'ed Gohar Streets in front of St. Catherine's church complex (Figure 4.6).[38] There was also a branch in the Ismailiya district of Cairo (Reynolds 2003, 138) and four other branches in Alexandria. In 1982, The American Women of Alexandria listed Hannaux as the largest store in Egypt. The main store, located at St. Catherine Square, sold purses, shoes, clothing, housewares, toys and fabric in the 1980s. The men's department was located next door, at the top of the parking lot. The Camp

[37] The complete lack of luxurious interior architectural elements is surprising. Unlike other department stores which retain many of the original lavish details such as wooden case work, parquet floors, or ornamental railings, Omar Effendi's main store contains none of these elements.
[38] Interview with Mahmoud Abain, Hannaux department store manager, January 2, 2011.

Caesar Branch was located at the Camp Caesar tramline stop at 51 Omar Lofty Street. The Roushdy branch was located at 448 Avenue el-Horreya in Roushdy and the Hannaux Boutique which sold only women's handbags was located at 22 Fouad Street (Alexandria 1982, 102-03). The main store also included a workshop with about twenty-five tailors which were located deep in the store "accessible by a circuitous series of pathways and stairs" (Reynolds 2003, 237-38). It was nationalized in 1952 and was still government-owned in 2011. According to Mahmoud Abain, the general manager, in the past there were more people but all classes of people still patronize the store. Business was in a suspicious situation and there is less progress now. [39][40] Informants mentioned Hannaux most often when discussing department stores, but had little to say other than it was very nice in the past and has now declined in quality.

Hannaux was one of the few department stores in Alexandria which was not greatly altered or remodeled and thus, gave a good indication of the original structure (Figure 4.7). The large rectangular structure consisted of four floors which were divided into a grid of 8 bays by 6 bays. The chamfering of the corner bay and being topped with a dome would typically indicate the entrance, but the entrance was located unceremoniously on the side of the building. The first floor was marked by large display windows which stretched from pilaster to pilaster, and there was a large cornice separating the first and second floors. The second floor, which was the tallest and most ornamented, featured articulated pilasters and a frieze with round peach colored medallions triglyphs. The upper two floors were less articulated. The structure of the building was concrete beams and columns. The interior of the store was typical of

[39] Interview with Mahmoud Abain, Hannaux department store manager, January 2, 2011.
[40] أقل البزنس فى وضع مُريب .... و فيه تطور.

department store layout and featured a central three-story atrium with a monumental stair facing the entrance and a prominently displayed elevator. The free-standing elevator was an excellent example of an early twentieth century luxury elevator with detailed wooden cab and leather seating. The elevator shaft was enclosed by a wrought iron, brass and glass cage which matched the design of the railings throughout the building (Figure 4.7).

On the first floor, jewelry, china and crystal were sold from glass cases while other decorative objects such as vases were displayed on the floor and on open racks (Figures 4.8 & 4.9). Large appliances were displayed in rows in one section of the store while extra appliances still in their boxes lined the walls in several places. A large portion of this floor was devoted to rugs which were displayed flat, in neat piles, or in vertical rolls. On one side of the floor, there were three-sided "display niches" filled with rugs which appear to have been built in the 1970s or '80s and were made of black lacquer with gold painted accents and lettering. Nearby was a small "cafeteria" which was basically a coffee shop.[41] The second floor sold clothing, shoes, accessories and luggage from what appeared to be the original wood cabinets, display cases and cupboards. Additionally, children's bicycles were sold here. The clothing was divided into sections according to gender. The old signage from the departments defining spaces such as "Maroquinerie" and "Parfumerie" remained in French and Arabic but only roughly related to the location of the merchandise (Figure 4.8). For example, there were no corsets being sold under the "Corsets" sign but it did indicate the location of women's clothing. There were several mannequins present and a few newer glass display cases. Additionally, some Disney characters and other child-related graphics were stuck on the walls. The front of the third floor contained more three-sided spaces which appeared to have been built in the 1940s

[41] In Arabic it says كافتيريا.

or ‘50s for the purpose of displaying furniture in “rooms” but were stuffed full of furniture with no regard for creating a “display room.” This floor also sold fabric and linens. Although some of the merchandise changed location, the store design followed the general principle of placing the most important goods in the more prominent locations.

The exterior of the building was essentially intact but showed signs of patching with concrete, especially at the first floor cornice, and the patched area had not been repainted. There was a general need for cleaning and painting on the exterior and the fabric canopies and metal roll down doors showed significant signs of wear. But unlike other parts of Mansheiya, this building was still in its original form with no additions or appendages. There were only two signs on the façade and although not original, they both referred to the store within. There were only two window air conditioners visible (on the fourth floor) and no satellite dishes (which is noteworthy in central Alexandria). Although the interior of the store was in similar condition, the net result was a space which felt grimy and outdated. The first floor tile had no visible dirt, but appeared dingy and the wood floors on the upper stories have lost their luster and there were several areas where the wood needed repairing. The store was illuminated by the numerous windows and industrial styled exposed bulk fluorescent ceiling hung lamps. Additionally, all of the walls and ceilings required painting. Although the displays were neatly organized, there did not appear to be any cohesive design of the interior space. The overall effect is a space which is out of date, had received no innovation, and bore little resemblance to the elegant department store mentioned by many authors and informants.

Cicurel

The origins of Cicurel and Hannaux overlap, but after they diverged, the Cairo Cicurel store was considered the highest-class department store (Kupferschmidt, Europeans 2007, 46). Originally in 1910, the store opened in Cairo's European district, Ismailia, next to Chemla Frères, under the name Au Petit Bazar (Raafat, 1994). This developed into one the Middle East's largest department stores, Grands Magasin Cicurel and Oreco and included branches in Alexandria and Isamailiya (Krämer 1989, 44). "At Cicurel everything could be bought and the range was endless, from lavish glass, crockery, fabrics, cosmetics to the latest Parisian fashions. Many a high society lady's trousseau was prepared entirely at Cicurel" (Kupferschmidt, European 2007, 46). After the Suez Crisis, the store faced mounting difficulties because of its "foreign" nature, even though the Cicurel family had been in Egypt for three generations, and the department store company was sold in 1957. "In 1961, Grands Magasins Cicurel was sequestered (later nationalized) from its new Egyptian owners the (Hassanein) El Gabri family" (Raafat 1994).

In the fall of 2010,[42] a newly remodeled Alexandria Cicurel store was opened in its previous location in the Oreco building on Sharia Saad Zaghloul. The original store design was analogous to the modern streamlined styles of the first half of the twentieth century which featured dramatic vertical lines and curved balconies (Figure 4.10).[43] The store's façade ran the width of the building and was set apart by a gray marble "frame" around the oversized display windows which were only punctuated by round columns. These columns aligned with every second column on the second story. Although the store

[42] Field survey from December, 2010.
[43] Field survey from January, 2010.

meant to stand out from the rest of the building, the store façade and the tower were architecturally unified. The signage indicated the store name was "Cicurel" in latin letters and "Sheekoureel"[44] in Arabic. Compared with other buildings, this one was in relatively good condition and only needed cleaning to restore it.

Unfortunately, the new renovation obliterated the old façade by placing an additional storefront approximately three feet in front of the old one (Figure 4.11). The new façade consisted of a large graphic band above the windows made from black, red and silver metal panels and uninterrupted two story glass panels below. The former round stone columns were wrapped in square white cladding and the edge of the mezzanine, which was visible through the façade windows was faced in red. The interior was marked by bright shiny finishes. Although all of the finishes were brand new and impeccably clean, the store still felt dated. Unlike Omar Effendi, the density of clothing and housewares felt appropriate and the space was lively, but there has been no architectural attempt to vary the scale or create distinct zones within the store, like what would be accomplished in larger stores in the international-style malls. Also, there was no overall theme other than the repetition of the same colors: black, white and red. Interestingly, the exterior signage also changed. The new sign above the door indicated its title in large bold letters, "City Plaza," and to the left, the name in smaller Latin letters indicated "Chicurel" which was a transliteration of the traditional Arabic name. The name in Arabic resided in the same location as before but with red letters.

This Cicurel store was a good example of how department stores could be gendered and sexualized. The vast majority of the merchandise in this store was gendered and although men's and women's goods are displayed separately, there were no clear

[44] شيكوريل.

architectural indications of the different zones. As expected, a larger percentage of the space was devoted to women's clothes than men's. Nearly half of the display windows were filled with mannequins displaying women's clothing and only a small portion was reserved for men's clothing mannequins. Soon after the store opened, a controversial display was placed in the window. It featured a female mannequin wearing red mesh lingerie who was kneeling down holding a tray with six tea glasses (Figure 4.12). This display attracted crowds of both men and women. Opinions about using a public window to display such a sexualized scene varied but there was general agreement that this was shocking. Some people, particularly women, felt that this was very inappropriate, but it was unclear whether they objected to the sexual nature of the scene or the subservient nature. It was surprisingly difficult to draw out a discussion about this scene. A minority of people, mostly male, expressed that this was not inappropriate because mannequins were being used not real people or photographs. A few men said that this was okay because she was serving her husband and that is what a wife is supposed to do. Whether appropriate or not, the brightly lit display highlighted the sexual nature of clothing and just as in the Iranian malls, they way goods were displayed showed how retail space could become overtly sexualized.

The other Cicurel store located in Manshieya was contained in the ground floor of an older building. The façade of polished black granite slabs with large display windows was applied over the top of the original façade, probably in the mid-twentieth century. The name over the door is listed as "Premoda" and the Latin letters still spell "Cicurel" rather than the transliteration of the Arabic "Chicurel." Surprisingly, the interior of this store was the most modern of all department stores in the heart of the city. The space

consisted of an open two-story space adjacent to the entrance and mezzanine level at the back of the store. The variations in ceiling height allowed smaller spaces within the interior to be articulated and merchandise was grouped within these spaces. The walls and columns are wrapped in a crisp white shell of plaster whose brightness heightened the perception of modernity. Besides the minimalist details, the most surprising aspect of the interior is use of empty space. Racks of clothing were not crowded into the store. Instead, ample space was afforded for circulation and to allow the goods to be visible. The interior of the store was articulated into different spaces which worked together to form an overall "look" consistent with international design standards.[45] Nothing in this interior is surprising in the context of department stores worldwide, but when compared with other stores in Egypt, this Cicurel store felt modern and fresh.

Pellegrini & Naoum Department Store

The Naoum & Pellegrini Department Store[46] presents a curious case because it was never nationalized. Significantly smaller than the other department stores, Naoum & Pellegrini has avoided much public attention.[47] None of the informants discussed this store and although Dr. Awad was familiar with the building, he, too, has been able to obtain little information. In the past, it used to sell a "wide selection of housewares, sewing items, mosquito netting, oil cloth, furnishing fabrics, etc." (Alexandria 1982,

[45] Field survey, December 2010.
[46] Unfortunately very little information is available about the origins of the Naoum & Pellegrini Department store. A YouTube video claims that "This store was originally owned by 2 Alexandrians of Levantine origins. The store was nationalized by the Egyptian government according to the socialist laws of 1961.The store have undergone a gradual decline since that time [as can be deduced easily from the photo]." But this directly contradicts the current manager's statement that the store was never nationalized. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=52V43gObY7I&feature=youtube_gdata_player (last accessed June 5, 2012).
[47] Interview with manager, December 30, 2010.

109). The management guarded their information closely and claimed there are no historical records of the store. The manager also emphasized that this store was typical and not special,

> This store is nothing special. It is just normal. It was built in 1880. Then it was sold in 1908 just before the war. It has been with the same owner and his successors since then. There is nothing special. If you are honest then you have good business. This store was not nationalized because it is small. The large businesses like Omar Effendi, Hannaux and Cirucel were nationalized. This was established by two partners. It is very normal. Like everything else. Back in the 1920s you could find many stores just like this. It was normal. The same thing all over Egypt and Europe. Just normal. It is the same space. Back then this was a big space. But now you have Carrefour… We sell household wares. The same as in the past but now there is more variety. Clients can ask for what they want and we can get it for them. The clients need to have confidence in you. You need the client's trust. If the client has confidence, then your business will continue. If not, then you will close down. We have some clients for 50-60 years. Now they buy for their children and grandchildren.
>
> In the time of Nasser, it was forbidden to import things. But we still did through the public sector. During Sadat's time business was the same. Tastes [*le gout*] change and so we must change our merchandise. There was not more profit than in the past. It is the same percentage. Big business like Carrefour makes lots of money.[48]

Pellegrini & Naoum was a relatively small one-and-a-half story rectangular store located near the main Hannaux store on the corner of Masguid el-Attarine Street and Kinisset Younan (Greek Church) Street. Unlike the display windows of Hannaux and other department stores, Pellegrini & Naoum's windows were much smaller and are vertically oriented. There was no ornament on the exterior except blind transoms above the windows and entrance doors and a permanent canopy at the level of the first floor (Figure 4.13). This canopy was wide enough to nearly cover the sidewalk and contained the store's name painted in Latin letters, Greek and Arabic. The mezzanine level contained smaller windows which were covered by bars and screens on one side. On the other street

[48] Interview with manager, December 30, 2010.

façade, the store name appears to have been painted in large (Latin) letters on it years ago. The paint on the entire building has faded and peeled so significantly that it was difficult to tell what color the building was or what materials it was built from. In 2011, it was a grayish brown color which was darker than the typical patina of age found on other buildings in this area. The wooden canopy was also in poor condition. Many pieces were missing or in the process of rotting. The surfaces appeared to have been covered with many layers of posters and other papers which have eroded with time so that none are legible. When the building was not open, it resembled an abandoned nineteenth century small industrial building.

Like Hannaux, the interior appeared not to have been modernized, except for the fluorescent lights and new merchandise. Wooden cabinets and cases lined the walls and wooden counters were located in front of them and divided the space into "departments." Other furniture included wooden tables for displaying merchandise. The perimeter of the store was ringed by a mezzanine which crossed in the center roughly dividing the store into four quadrants. The balconies were not accessible by customers but appeared to be accessed by store workers to retrieve additional goods. The bulk of the goods were housewares including small rugs and a significant amount of plastic goods. The back wall of the store was lined with small boxes on shelves containing buttons of an enormous variety and other sewing notions (Figure 4.14). The overall impression was that of a nineteenth century European or American dry goods store selling cheap modern goods.

Sednaoui

The Sednaoui Brothers, Christians from Syria, opened their department store in 1913 at Khazindar Plaza (near Midan Al-Ataba) and soon after opened branches in

Alexandria, Port Said, Tantah, Mansoura, Fayoum and Assyut (Raafat 1997). The Alexandria store was located on Fouad Street (Alexandria 1982, 103). Sednaoui was in direct competition with Cicurel so it cultivated a personal and friendly attitude. Mr. Sednaoui was reported to greet frequent shoppers by name. "For the big spenders, shopping at Sednaoui was more for pleasure than satisfying basic needs. On certain Sundays in the upper '50s, when the rest of commercial Cairo was shut down, Sednaoui opened by special arrangement to accommodate wealthy shop-till-you-drop clients from the Gulf. These arrived by the planeload with an extra in reserve for the fully laden return trip" (Raafat 1997). Sednaoui also set itself apart from Cicurel by hosting deep discount sales annually which were aimed at attracting middle- and lower-middle class shoppers who were intimidated by Cicurel. This ended in 1961 when Sednaoui was nationalized. The director "was given an indefinite leave of absence. An army officer had come to replace him! The age drab counters and khaki colored cooperatives was about to begin" (Raafat 1997). For the main store in Cairo, the government's inattention to the shop meant that the shop was spared renovation in the 1970s and 1980s and retains much of its original fittings and details remain (although in a worn down state) (Stryjak 2011). In Alexandria, Sednaoui has been all but forgotten. It does not appear on any maps and was not mentioned by any informants.

Department Stores Versus Street Shops

While large department stores dominated the research on Egyptian commercial space, Egypt was a country dominated by small and medium sized stores. In a 1956 study based on the 1947 Industrial and Commercial Census, Abdel Aziz el Sherbini and Ahmed Fouad Sherif found that the average store had less than one employee and stores in Cairo

and Alexandria employed an average of less than 2. The ratio of workers was even smaller in 1927 when 53% of the shops had no staff and 97% employed fewer than 4 workers (el Sherbini 1956, 29 - 30). Field investigations by Ahmed Hussein and M.A. Badry in 1952 resulted in similar findings but slightly higher ratios. Relatively few establishments employed huge staffs. Only 1.75% of stores had more than 15 staff members but the large retail companies employed one quarter of the retail workforce. In the 1940s a typical department store would hire several hundred to 800 workers (Reynolds 2003, 111). Although department stores were large and well known, the individual shop was more typical of Egyptian retail.

Along Saad Zaghloul Street, there were only two department stores, Omar Effendi and Cicurel. The remaining street fronts were filled with small shops and boutiques. The central business district was similar to a European downtown with glass fronted shops and boutiques lining the major streets. Since the mid-1970s there was an increase in density of shops so that nearly all street level space was filled with shops, boutiques and microenterprises. In 1995, Hassan Abdel-Salam noted that 93% of the street fronts were in use as stores, banks, offices and restaurants (Abdel-Salam 193-4). He noticed that most buildings were in reasonably good condition but "their finishing materials are increasingly deteriorating and require regular intervention from the Mid-Town District or private landlords" (Abdel-Salam 193-4). My survey found difficulty discovering any ground floor space in the city center devoted to uses other than stores, restaurants and banks. Particularly in the most heavily trafficked areas such as Saad Zaghloul Street, offices were pushed to upper floors or back alleys. This increasing use of ground floor space for retail was similar to Galal Amin's observations in Cairo. "Anyone who has

managed to get hold of the ground floor of building has turned it into a commercial enterprise of some sort, and every young man in possession of any amount of capital thinks up a 'project,' which invariably means setting up an enterprise for marketing something" (Amin 2000).The nearly ubiquitous desire to set up a shop stems from the following factors: rising inflation which increased pressure on families to seek additional sources of income, the reduction in government protection for low-income people, and access to cheap imported goods. So the character of street retail has changed since the *Infitah* (Amin 2000) because the small cosmopolitan, upper-middle class of Europeans and Egyptians was replaced by a mass of lower-income Alexandrians who valued variety of merchandise and low prices over cohesive design and planning.

Space, Time and Urban Shopping

Typically, stores began opening around 11am or noon but the street was relatively empty until late afternoon. Most shops stayed open until midnight. Thursday nights were the busiest because they were the start of the weekend. Friday nights were the second busiest. Even though the work week began on Sunday, Saturday night was the third busiest day. Sunday, the first day of the work week and Christian holy day, appeared to be the least busy day. On weekend nights, shopping in the central business district was an extremely popular activity, especially on Saad Zaghloul Street. Cars were packed in stop and go traffic until about 10pm when traffic began to thin out, but the street was still active until midnight. The wide sidewalks were crowded with groups of people window-shopping and strolling. People came as families with children, as couples, as portions of families (typically mother and children/aunts/grandmas), and in single gender groups. Occasionally there were mixed gender (noncouple) groups. In many places the sidewalks

were so crowded that it was difficult to walk. Thus, the throngs of people visiting the city center flies in the face of any claim that downtown was dying (Figure 4.15).

Ramleh Shopping Center

The defunct shopping center at Ramleh Station was a representation of the lifecycle of modern retail space in Alexandria. At the most important intersection in Alexandria, the corner of Sharia Saad Zaghloul and Sharia Safiyya Zaghloul, there were curious sets of stairs which descended below the street (Figure 4.16). There were locked gates at the foot of the stairs, and the stairwells had filled with trash and some water. There was also an enclosed escalator which was permanently locked and became a kiosk for a bookshop (Figure 4.17). These stairs and escalators were not the remains of a subterranean pedestrian passage but the last vestiges of an underground shopping center. Unfortunately no records of this center have been found so all information comes from memories of citizens, which was often conflicting. One older woman vividly recalled the shopping center:

> There was a *suq* under Mahata Ramleh. It had four escalators going down into four different divisions. Each had its own place: grocery, fruits & vegetables, cosmetics & soaps, and desserts. Corona was the place for chocolates and cookies. There were government subsidized groceries found there. You could find all of the groceries – meat, fish, chicken. It was a very good thing. Very clear, very clean but I don't know why it was closed. [49]

Initially, she said that it was closed by Sadat before the October War (1973), but when I mentioned that her nephew remembered going there, and he was born in 1973, she said that she stopped going after the October War because the quality kept becoming inferior.

[49] Interview April 18, 2010.

> The shops were made by Naser, not by him personally but in his era, and closed by Sadat [in his era]. It was very nice. We used to take the tram downtown. We could go and return in one hour [from Camp Caesar]. [50]

Her nephew was young when he went to this shopping center with his family and remembers very few details.[51] Gilane Mansour, an architect who designed several shopping centers in Alexandria, dated the shops under Mahata Ramleh much earlier. She estimated that they were built around 1948. The shops were noteworthy because they contained the first escalator in the city and the space was pleasant even though it was underground. "Now the government is looking for an investor to redo the shops."[52] A third informant who ran a small shop in the Women's *Suq* remembered a different opening date for the underground *suq*.

> In 1963, the shops under Mahata Ramleh [Ramleh Station] were built for the bank employees and there was one store which sold imported goods. They changed the route of the tram because of the construction of the market – in order to dig it. It used to be more crowded than it is today because now there is Carrefour and other shops around the city. There are fewer people in Mahata Ramleh now…The Mahata Ramleh shops could no longer get imported goods. There used to be 20 workers but then there were only 4 workers so it closed in the 1980's. They imported cheese from Bulgaria and frozen chicken from somewhere – European goods.[53]

Mohamed Awad also remembered the small retail facility under Ramleh Station. According to him, it was built in the late 1950s, probably in 1957 or 1958, by the municipality. He noted that there were water problems. They were not related to the sea, but from the rising water table and from leaky pipes, and he presumed that the shops closed due to some problem with the escalators. Unfortunately, no plans were available for these shops and Awad believed that no additional data exists about this shopping

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[50] Interview April 18, 2010.
[51] Interview April 18, 2010.
[52] Gilene Mansour, Interview April 21, 2010.
[53] Interview December 29, 2010. The age of this informant is unknown but he was old enough to talk at length about King Farouk (r. 1936 - 1952).

center. [54] All of the informants agreed that when it was new, it was modern, novel, and it was a desirable space to shop. At some point, the quality of the merchandise and the infrastructure deteriorated and fewer people patronized the shops. Eventually the shops were closed and the informants felt that the role of these shops had been replaced by other stores such as Carrefour.

History of Shopping Malls in Alexandria

Although there were several retail agglomerations such as the *okelles* (also known as *wakalas* or *khans*), the *suq* district, and the shopping center under Ramleh Station, the introduction of the shopping mall radically changed retail history in Alexandria. The first shopping mall appeared in Alexandria in 1997, nearly a decade after the mall's introduction in Cairo and almost half of a century after the first American mall (1952). The instant popularity of malls created a building boom between 1997 and 2006 with each new mall attempting to outdo previous malls. After 2006, malls and shopping centers continued to be constructed but at more modest scales (Table 4.1).

Shopping malls could be differentiated from shopping centers by the inclusion of entertainment facilities such as cafes, restaurants, food courts, cinemas and arcades. The shopping centers, on the other hand, had limited eating and drinking establishments and no entertainment venues. These shopping centers focused on including a large number of small shops compactly in a single building. Shopping malls in Alexandria could be subdivided into two groups: small malls and international-style malls. Besides being smaller in size, the small malls were typically designed like department stores but with

[54] Mohamad Awad believes that there are no records in existence about this shopping center. I have not been able to find any records either.

individual enclosed shops around a central atrium or without an atrium and centered on an elevator/escalator core. In general small malls were more vertical than the international-style malls and included only limited entertainment venues. The small malls included Mena Center (Figure 4.18), Zahran Mall (Figure 4.19), Wataneiya Mall, Deeb Mall, Kierosiez Mall and Falaky Center. San Stefano Grand Plaza (Figure 4.20), City Centre and Green Plaza are the international-style malls which are vastly larger, devote significant space to entertainment venues, carried high-end merchandise and were similar in design and style to other shopping malls around the world.

When Mena Mall or Mena Trade Center (Markaz Mena Al-Tahara) opened in July, 1997,[55] it was enthusiastically welcomed. Informants described how excited they were for the opening of Mena Mall (Figure 4.18). To them, the mall represented inclusion in the modern global community and meant they "had something to do." At least in the memory of informants who were young at the time, they took every opportunity to visit this mall. The first of its kind, Mena included shops surrounding a central atrium with escalators, elevators, a café, central air conditioning and underground parking. A thirty-eight year old male teacher explained his impressions:

> We had no idea about what a mall was until Mena Mall came. We had to go and have a look – wow – an electric staircase. You step on the first step and you go to the second floor without walking. It was the first stair with electricity. There was an escalator at the shops under Mahata Ramleh but it never worked. I never saw it working. Sometimes now I see ladies from the countryside. Sometimes they see the escalator and they panic. Oh, no! I'll fall. They prefer to go up and down without this great invention. I thought this was the greatest invention. Then Zahran Mall was built. It was the second mall. Wow! When we saw that, we saw another level, a great invention. Now we had something to compare Mena Mall to. Now Mena Mall seemed small, and not high class. The shops were not high class and we stopped going there…Everyone left Mena Mall and went to Zahran Mall…When [my wife] wants to hang out without thinking she says, 'Let's go to Carrefour or Downtown.' She will never say 'Let's go to Zahran.' She never says

[55] Bayan Bi-Molat Al-ra'isia Bi-Mahafaza Al-Askandaria, Alexandria Province of Malls, January 6, 2011.

> 'Let's go to Mena Mall.' [His wife began laughing in the background at the absurdity of suggesting they hang out at Mena Mall]. If she does, it will be a joke.[56]

The novelty and popularity waned when the next mall was built and allegiance moved to Zahran Mall. Located in the suburb of Smouha, Zahran was almost double the size of Mena[57] but also included a hypermarket on the ground floor, a food court, and movie theaters (Figure 4.19). Opening in November 1998,[58] Zahran appealed to the key demographic of A+ and B+ class customers and became the new focus of innovative retail.[59] The retail environment was again revolutionized in 2002 when Green Plaza Mall was built.[60] Green Plaza dramatically altered the public's expectations by building a mall according to international standards. The international standards include a vastly larger building foot print, long expanses for strolling, entertainment venues such as cinemas, arcades, restaurants, elite cafes, international brand stores and eateries and up to date architectural styles. International-style malls were indistinguishable from malls in the West or the Gulf.

Green Plaza was an open-air mall located in Smouha at the Southern edge of the urban agglomeration (away from the coast) (Figure 4.21). Covering 1,129,800[61] square feet, it was still the largest mall in Alexandria in 2011, the second largest in Egypt and the thirty-fourth largest in the Middle East.[62] Rather than planning Green Plaza around

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[56] Interview October 18, 2010.
[57] Mohamad Amer, General Manager of Zahran Mall, December 20, 2010. Consistent with data from Bayan Bi-Molat Al-ra'isia Bi-Mahafaza Al-Askandaria, Alexandria Province of Malls, January 6, 2011.
[58] Mohamad Amer, General Manager of Zahran Mall, December 20, 2010. Consistent with data from Bayan Bi-Molat Al-ra'isia Bi-Mahafaza Al-Askandaria, Alexandria Province of Malls, January 6, 2011.
[59] Interview Mohamed Amer, General Manager of Zahran Mall, December 20, 2010.
[60] Bayan Bi-Molat Al-ra'isia Bi-Mahafaza Al-Askandaria, Alexandria Province of Malls, January 6, 2011.
[61] Bayan Bi-Molat Al-ra'isia Bi-Mahafaza Al-Askandaria, Alexandria Province of Malls, January 6, 2011. The International Council of Shopping Centers, Shopping Center Directory lists Green Plaza as having 1,085,002 square feet.
[62] International Council of Shopping Centers, Shopping Center Directory, March 2011.

corridors, the mall was designed around elongated plazas. The shops were located on the first and second levels with many bridges to cross from one side of the plazas to the other. The Hilton Hotel rooms were located on the third floor and overlook the plazas. The south end contained most of the "magnet" venues including the cinema, restaurants, children's arcade, a ballroom/banquet center and the hyper-market. The forth major innovator was City Centre Mall colloquially called Carrefour which opened in 2003.[63] This mall took the innovations of Green Plaza such as horizontal planning which facilitated strolling and international standards of design, and included them in an enclosed climate-controlled building with free parking. Although not the largest mall, City Centre remained the most popular and the standard by which other malls are measured. The most common reason cited for City Centre's success was the free parking. Even when shopping at a high-end mall, Alexandrians were loathe to pay for parking. Other factors included the horizontality of the space (only one floor), appropriate mix of desirable retailers including kiosks with less expensive merchandise, protection from the weather, and having Carrefour as an anchor store.[64] Omar Gaafar, the manager of City Center Mall explained that this mall radically transformed retail expectations in Alexandria:

> The introduction of the malls changed the format of shopping in Egypt. City Centre brought international criteria for the first time to Egypt. We have to deal with problems of standards and supply, but we try to raise the bar in terms of operational and service standards.

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[63] http://www.ameinfo.com/cgi-bin/cms/page.cgi?page=print;link=156729, AME Info, Company News, May 14, 2008. Last accessed March 30, 2011.

[64] Until the end of 2010, this was the only Carrefour hypermarket in Alexandria. Then Green Plaza Mall replaced Alfa Market with a Carrefour Market (a smaller version of the hypermarket). A second Carrefour Market was also opened in Montaza at the far end of Alexandria (actual opening date unknown but probably during 2011). There were also rumors of another Carrefour hypermarket to be built in Agamy, a Western suburb. Informants speculate that this will cause significant competition for the original Carrefour and harm City Centre Mall.

> The mall is arranged the way retail has always been – it is like a modern *suq*. Having everything in one place is convenient. City Centre has the convenience of Carrefour [a French hypermarket] and fashion in the same place. It has almost everything – but not everything. The other facilities are here to support the fashion shops and Carrefour. For example the food court and cinemas.[65]

Although Gaafar saw malls as a continuation of the traditional *suq*, even he mentions significant differences such cinemas, food courts, and using international criteria for management.

The latest international-style mall, San Stefano, opened in 2006,[66] but did not dramatically alter the expectations for Alexandrians. Considered to be the highest-class mall, San Stefano was also the most accessible due to its location near the Corniche and on the tram line. The four-story mall was part of a larger complex that included a Four Seasons hotel, apartments, and offices in two high-rise towers shaped like "C"s (Figure 4.20). There were 178 shops, a food court, a children's arcade and a 10-screen movie theater.[67] The atria allowed people to see on to other floors and thus facilitated people-watching and the layout of the floors also encouraged movement between the floors. The shopping mall construction boom lasted for about ten years. After that, new malls continued to be planned and built but each subsequent mall opening no longer indicated a change in allegiance or a shift in the city's retail center.

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[65] Omar Gaafar, Manager, City Centre Mall, Interview December 16, 2010.
[66] ICSC Directory of Shopping Centers, March 31, 2011. The Governorate's report lists the opening date as 2005, but all other sources (including professional literature, the mall's website, and informants) agree that the mall opened in 2006.
[67] Bayan Bi-Molat Al-ra'isia Bi-Mahafaza Al-Askandaria, Alexandria Province of Malls, January 6, 2011. San Stefano Mall Directory (acquired 2010), claims that there are over 200 shops but counting the shops listed, there are 160 not including food venues and 190 including all rented spaces.

Hierarchy of Malls

Within Alexandria, there was a hierarchy of the malls. Just as the mall managers classified their malls, the general public did too. The general categories of malls were fairly well established and correspond to the previous categorization: small malls, international-style malls, and urban shopping centers. Small malls were the first to be built (1997 - 2008) but also continued in tandem with the international-style malls (2002-2006). Small malls were generally designed like department stores with small shops around a central atrium (like Mena or Falaky) or without an atrium having stacked floors (like Zahran or Deeb). Usually the limited leisure space was located on the highest floor (or lowest basement floor in the case of Kierosiez) to draw patrons through the building. For those which had cinemas (Zahran, Deeb, and Kierosiez), they became the most important attraction. When Mena and Zahran were new, they were popular, but in 2011 the entire group was considered out-of-style second-class malls, particularly by the upper middle and upper-classes. One of the reasons was because of the lack of open space and entertainment facilities. Secondly, the architectural design of the small malls was passé and third, they could not attract the trendiest shops. The international-style malls were universally appreciated, even by those who could not afford to shop there. In addition to the higher standards and trendy design, these malls were also dominated by high-end shops, particularly international clothing and accessory stores. They each were anchored by robust leisure facilities and a foreign hyper-market (Metro and Carrefour). Unlike the small malls, none of which had websites, all three international-style malls had websites in English.[68]

[68] City Centre: http://alexandriacitycentre.com/Alex/Default.aspx. Green Plaza: http://ragabgroup.com/greenplaza/about.html. San Stefano: http://test.san-stefano.com/default.html.

At the other end of the scale, even lower than small malls, were shopping centers which were retail agglomerations without entertainment or food facilities and without prestige. Unlike the malls, the shopping centers were not well known and most informants did not know the centers by name. My research focused on Safwa Shopping Center and Saad Zaghloul Center which were located in the heart of the city on Saad Zaghloul Street. The shopping centers in general came in a variety of architectural forms and ranged from average stylishness to shoddy appearance, and typically sold midpriced or cheap goods. The differences between Falaky Mall and Safwa Shopping Center best illustrate the division between a small mall and a shopping center. Both were located on Saad Zaghloul Street and although Safwa had a larger foot print, Falaky was considered much classier. First, Falaky contained escalators, a food venue, an onsite manager, easily locatable rest rooms, three forms of vertical circulation (all of which worked), uniformed security personnel and a higher standard of cleanliness. Safwa was dominated by shops for men and had no visible security, no escalators, nor café or other facilities and an elevator permanently anchored at the third floor.

Even though there was a hierarchy of shopping centers, among individuals, a preference for shopping at a particular type of venue, varied with the person and for the merchandise sought. For example, a twenty-eight year old woman explained:

> I also went to Mustafa Kamel [a suburb containing Kiroseiz Mall] because shopping there was better than in Mahata Ramleh, but Carrefour and Green Plaza are better than them both. It is not only about price. The quality of goods in Mansheiya and the materials is not the same, nor are the styles. The rich people go to Carrefour so the styles and materials are better there…I have also been to the Falaky Mall. I like it. There is an ice cream shop…I went once to San Stefano and bought a bag. It was expensive and I didn't use it. That's why I hate San Stefano. It is further from my house and I don't like it…To buy a *hijab*, there isn't just one place to go. In Mansheiya, you will find shops between clothing shops.

> There are one or two shops in Carrefour and one or two in Green Plaza. Also, there are some at the tram station.[69]

A sixty year old woman explained that everyone can go to the mall, but class dictates how often:

> Different classes go different amounts and the high classes go more often. It is a sense of pride to say "I'm going to San Stefano this weekend." [70]

One thirty year old man did not have a set shopping location but uses a variety of shops:

> When I shop for clothes for me, I don't have a lot of places. Number one, I bring stuff from America or have friends bring it. Sometimes I go to Carrefour or Mahata Ramleh. For example if I need shoes, there are certain shops in Mahata Ramleh. For t-shirts and pants, it depends. There are some shops near San Stefano and we go and check. There are random areas like Carrefour, Mahata Ramleh or Roushdy. High class people prefer Carrefour. Low class people shop in Bakoos. It is full of shops. They are very cheap, the people are not rich. It's near Zizinia but deeper in Alexandria [away from the coast] but I don't recommend you going alone to Bakoos.[71]

One upper-class female[72] informant from Alexandria who studied in England and who currently lives in Cairo enthusiastically described with pride the international-style malls even though the malls of Cairo were much more notable, but she scoffed at the mention of any small malls. When a 20 year old university student admitted that sometimes she went to Mena Mall, it was with a small amount of embarrassment:

> Sometimes I go there. I don't know why. It's close.[73]

This was the general opinion of small malls. People chose to patronize them, but there was not pride in doing so. Although the three international-style malls were uniformly agreed to be the most prestigious malls in the city by people of (almost) all classes and ages, they were not the shopping venue of choice all of the time.

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[69] Interview October 14, 2010.
[70] Interview April 18, 2010.
[71] Interview October 18, 2010.
[72] Interview December 31, 2010.
[73] Interview April 24, 2010.

Security

Security was important to the design of the shopping malls and created a sense of pride for the managers. Managers at City Centre and Mena Mall explained that the limited number of entrances kept the space secure by being able to control entry, but unlike the phenomenon mentioned by Mona Abaza in Arkadia Mall, where the security guards denied entry to "riff raff," in Alexandria no mall admited to filtering the public. In fact, Nora El Gabry,[74] Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding (San Stefano Mall) was shocked at the suggestion and said that this was illegal.

> Unlike Carrefour which takes a lot of money for a taxi or a private car. Class C people can't get to Carrefour. So San Stefano has more people. They [security] can't keep low class people out of the mall. It would be unethical. Lots of people have money but you don't always know it by looking at them. They may come from a bad background and not wear the best clothes, but still have money…While San Stefano targets the wealthy, middle class people can still afford to shop there. [75]

Instead of filtering the public, the primary purpose of security, as reported by the managers was to control inappropriate male behavior. This was principally sexual harassment and fighting. El-Khodairy, of Mena Mall defined sexual harassment as boys trying to touch girls and did not include cat calling or making unsolicited and repetitive "compliments" to girls.[76] All informants who defined sexual harassment did so in the same manner; which was that sexual harassment involves males physically contacting or attempting to contact females. Although the definition of sexual harassment did not include verbal harassment, the rate of verbal harassment was significantly lower in high-

[74] Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding, Interview December 12, 2010.
[75] Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding, Interview December 12, 2010.
[76] Interview with Ihab el-Khodairy, assistant manager of Mena Mall, March 13, 2010.

end malls.[77] Gaafar, of City Centre, explained that the reason women do not receive the same harassment and hassle in the malls as they do in the streets was because of the security:[78]

> The malls are safe for girls because they are enclosed and there are security cameras and the mall has well defined entrances. [79]

Female informants as well listed the lack of harassment as one of the benefits of high-end shopping malls. Male informants did not initiate discussions about harassment the way females did, but when asked, all noted that malls were much safer for women. Both men and women attributed the lack of harassment to the presence of security and the fact that people in the malls are "helwa" or gentler and demonstrate higher-class behavior. Karim, of Green Plaza, noted that the primary job of security was to control traffic, fighting and shoplifting; the pleasant atmosphere was not due entirely to security enforcement. He noted that in the past, there were more problems but now that people have been coming to the mall for many years, they have learned how to act. They know how to behave and they "understand the experience.[80]" Security problems are not entirely male-based. Females were considered to be the main perpetrators of shoplifting. These female thieves stole not only from shops, but also from other women.[81] This made female dressing room attendants necessary. Rather than being considered part of the sales staff, these women who patrolled the dressing rooms were considered part of the security staff, which had

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[77] As a foreign woman moving through the city alone, I experienced significant verbal sexual harassment. In the international-style malls, I experienced none. Small malls were also relatively free of verbal harassment but it was disconcerting to be followed throughout the mall by men who thought they were being subtle.
[78] Omar Gaafar, City Centre Mall, December 16, 2011.
[79] Omar Gaafar, City Centre Mall, December 16, 2011.
[80] Abdul Karim, Vice President, Ragab Group, Green Plaza, Interview December 19, 2010.
[81] Interview with Ihab el-Khodairy, assistant manager of Mena Mall, March 13, 2010.

less status than sales staff.[82] El-Khodairy believed that females were more often thieves because they made more of the purchases. In Mena, when first time culprits were caught they were asked to repent and sign a paper stating that they will not come back to the mall. If they return, the police will be called.[83] In general, the security tasks were divided into gendered categories: to stop men from fighting and harassing women, and to stop women from shop-lifting.

With all malls, security was an important feature, carried a sense of pride and was an integral part of running the mall. At San Stefano security was part of the service charge leveled on the tenants which included maintenance, housekeeping and everything that kept up the image of the mall and was charged per square meter.

> Security makes sure everything is good. It makes sure that the shops open on time and investigates shop lifting. It acts just like the police of the mall. It enforces no smoking, stops fights, stops harassment. Security is just there to make the mall better overall. Harassment isn't a big problem at the mall. Those kinds of people don't come here. Or when the low classes come, they come with their families. Or with a girl. Or sometimes with boys. But it isn't usually a problem because they just don't act like that here… There aren't really fights with hitting but people get angry and yell. This happens all the time on Thursday and Friday nights.[84]

The managers of Green Plaza and Mena Malls emphasized the capability of the security personnel in dealing with security issues, but Gaafar of City Centre emphasized the cooperation with the municipal police rather than the power and independence of his forces:

> There is a whole manual for security procedures. They deal with theft, harassment and violence. They patrol almost 24/7. There is a hotline to the police and they let the police handle any problems. First the security asks politely but if it is still a problem, then they call the police.

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[82] Interview January 2, 2011.
[83] Interview with Ihab el-Khodairy, assistant manager of Mena Mall, March 13, 2010.
[84] Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding, Interview December 12, 2010.

Gaafar also pointed out that the government has become increasingly concerned with security. In late 2010, additional security procedures were imposed on the City Centre Mall by the government (San Stefano already had metal detectors but Green Plaza did not). Gaafar, the manager of City Centre explained:

> Since 2006, the authorities have been pressuring us to add security to the mall. We have been fighting them since then. Finally, we had to submit this year. Now there is a metal detector and x-ray machine at each door. We don't want it but the authorities think it is necessary.[85]

These new security forces controlling the five entrances to the mall consist of both male and female personnel. Thus security was an integral part of preserving the aura of the upper-class demeanor malls sought to project, and not only intervened in problems but also assured the smooth running of the mall.

Determining the Success of Malls

Gilane Mansour[86] summed up the criteria for a successful mall: siting, parking, amenities, fashion brand names, and business sense. She believed that people preferred horizontal malls to vertical one so that they could stroll for long walks, thus, finding appropriate real estate was essential. The appropriate site was also important to provide enough parking, and preferably free parking. The availability of parking and especially free parking was mentioned repeatedly by (mostly upper-middle class) informants. An advantageous site was also essential to draw the right clientele. In the case of elite malls, it meant being located away from poor areas. Mansour noted that this was an issue for San Stefano Mall which faced problems because it was a high-class mall in an accessible popular location. Being near poor areas, the local people all went to the mall for air-

[85] Gaafar, City Centre Mall, December 16, 2011.
[86] Interview April 21, 2010.

conditioning and to look at girls. This seemed to be the general opinion of all women over forty who were interviewed – that San Stefano was filled with young people wasting time rather than affluent people buying luxury goods. But the presence of luxury goods or trendy brand names was also essential for the success of malls even for patrons who were only window shopping. Lastly, according to Mansour, many malls suffered from inexperienced management. The problem was that the owner-developers of these malls were engineers rather than businessmen. They knew how to build and develop large-scale projects but they did not know how to plan and manage retail. City Centre was the model for a successful shopping mall, according to Mansour. The owners were not engineers but specialists in business and commercial properties. Also it had parking and a horizontal layout and adequate land to allow horizontal strolling and parking.

An example of a dead mall, Family Mall, and a dying mall, Kiroseiz Mall highlight the factors necessary for a successful mall. Family Mall located near San Stefano on Mohamed Sabry Street was only open from about 2003-2005. It had a cinema, but no parking. The intent was to sell the shops to store owners rather than rent them, but only one floor of shops ever sold. In 2010, the bank was in the process of repossessing it and no other informants remembered the mall. After the failure of Family Mall, the former owner began building another larger mall in Agami (a suburb to the west).[87] Family Mall failed in both management and lack of parking. Kiroseiz Mall, which was open for site visits, demonstrated other factors contributing to failure. Located in an affluent suburb relatively near the tramline and the College of Nursing Education and College of Education, Kiroseiz's site would seem ideal, but its lack of adjacent other retail was a detriment. One of the reasons informants preferred to shop at malls was for

[87] Interview April 21, 2010.

convenience and variety of merchandise. In fact, this was one of the reasons people enjoyed shopping in downtown as well. So a mall which was neither one-stop shopping (like City Centre) or situated among other shops (like Falaky) offered little incentive for patrons. Second, there was no parking to make it convenient for drivers,[88] and the distance from the tramline and major road (for microbus access) made it a less obvious choice for nondrivers. But the principal issue facing this mall was the tenant mix. The majority of the shops were inhabited by furniture stores or vacant. Because furniture is a large investment and an infrequent purchase, it does not draw the same number of customers as clothing stores. Mansour also noted that this mall was not managed by commercial professionals, but built and administered by engineers. As for informants, they rarely explained the reasons why Kiroseiz was a failure. Instead they dismissed it as being unworthy of discussion.

Mall Advantages for Women

As Salcedo notes, shopping malls may look similar around the world, but fit within the societies differently. For Egyptians, the "homogenized spaces of consumption," were signifiers of participating in the modern world like people in developed countries. Although it is easy to be critical of the monolithic culture created in shopping malls, for Alexandrians, there were real advantages, particularly for women, to this type of modern space. First, the immaculate cleanliness of malls was in sharp contrast with the city at large. Although Egyptian shopkeepers on the street are constantly cleaning their shops and the sidewalks in front, they could never achieve the same level

[88] The municipal report lists 400 parking spaces for Kiroseiz, but from site visits, there is no obvious parking. Most likely, this parking serves the apartments or offices in the tower above the mall.

of cleanliness found in freshly tiled malls. Nor did mall visitors have to deal with potholes or muddy puddles. Most buildings in Alexandria had a patina of grime and soot, whereas the malls were covered in bright materials, most of which are transparent and light colored. Even though the sea breezes produced cleaner air for Alexandria than Cairo, the air inside malls was noticeably cleaner and odor-free.

Second, security and "elevated" public behavior were a significant advantage. Although Alexandria (and Egypt in general) was relatively free of violent crime,[89] informants, especially women, feared places where crimes could take place. In addition to security patrols, malls offered the comfort of being consistently and uniformly well lit, in contrast with poorly lit streets. More specifically advantageous for women, malls created harassment-free zones. Especially within international-style malls, women were essentially free from verbal and sexual harassment.[90] Both men and women cited this as a substantial advantage for women. Many informants attributed harassing behavior to the presence of lower-class males.[91] They believed that the presence of security personnel and security cameras prevented unwanted behavior because potential perpetrators had a credible fear of being caught. But based on informants' accounts and my own experiences, San Stefano Mall, which attracted large numbers of lower-middle class youth, did not have a higher incidence of harassment than the other international-style malls. It is more likely that Abdul Karim's assessment was more accurate when he noted that at Green Plaza, people have learned the appropriate way to act at the mall. Initially

[89] Before the 2011 Revolution, the streets of Egyptian cities were significantly safer than their American counter parts, even at night, but this appears to have changed after the Revolution as reports about violence against women have dramatically increased.
[90] Meaning all kinds of harassment of women including groping, unwanted touching, repeated unwanted sexual advances, sexual gestures, repeated "compliments" or attempts to obtain a woman's attention, staring, and being followed.
[91] My own personal experience shows that more harassment occurred in places with a higher percentage of men, particularly young men from lower-middle class and below backgrounds.

the security personnel may have been required to establish behavior guidelines but once established, their presence acted as a reminder. So for women, the presence of visible security was also a reminder to them, that the mall was a safe space and they could feel comfortable. As Salcedo points out, when people feel comfortable, they consume more and women were important consumers, which is an advantage to the management.

The third advantage was that malls facilitated comparison shopping. This was an important coping strategy for household economics, and one which traditional shopkeepers disparaged.[92] Even upper-middle and upper-class informants were very cost conscious, especially as they shopped for luxury and status goods. Last, malls provided sorely needed public space for a social life. Although many critics observe that malls are not truly public spaces, in Alexandria they were some of the few places where almost anyone could enter and pass time (although there are certain rules of conduct). The upscale malls also contained elite coffee houses and the malls themselves were branded as exclusive spaces where women could reaffirm their social and moral status.

[92] Shopkeepers expressed frustration that customers would shop around for the lowest price, rather than rely on an established relationship with sellers.

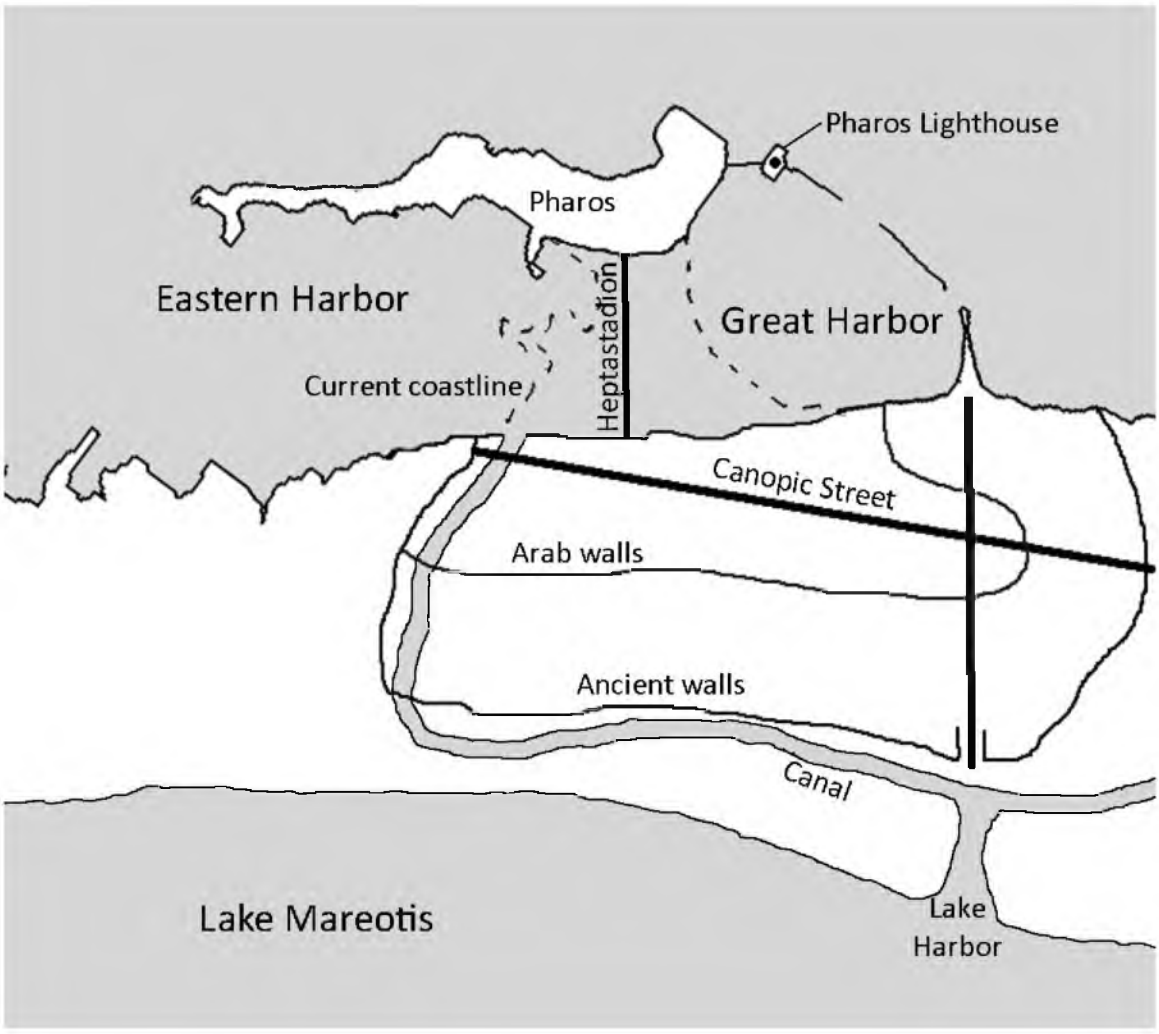

Figure 4.1 - Alexandria with Ancient and Arab walls (adapted from Empereur).

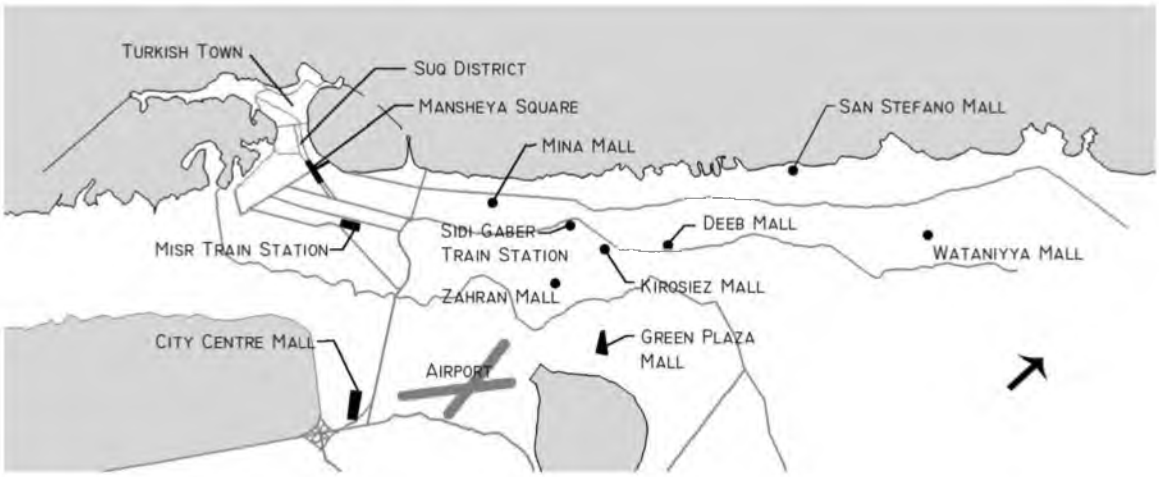

Figure 4.2 – Map of modern Alexandria.

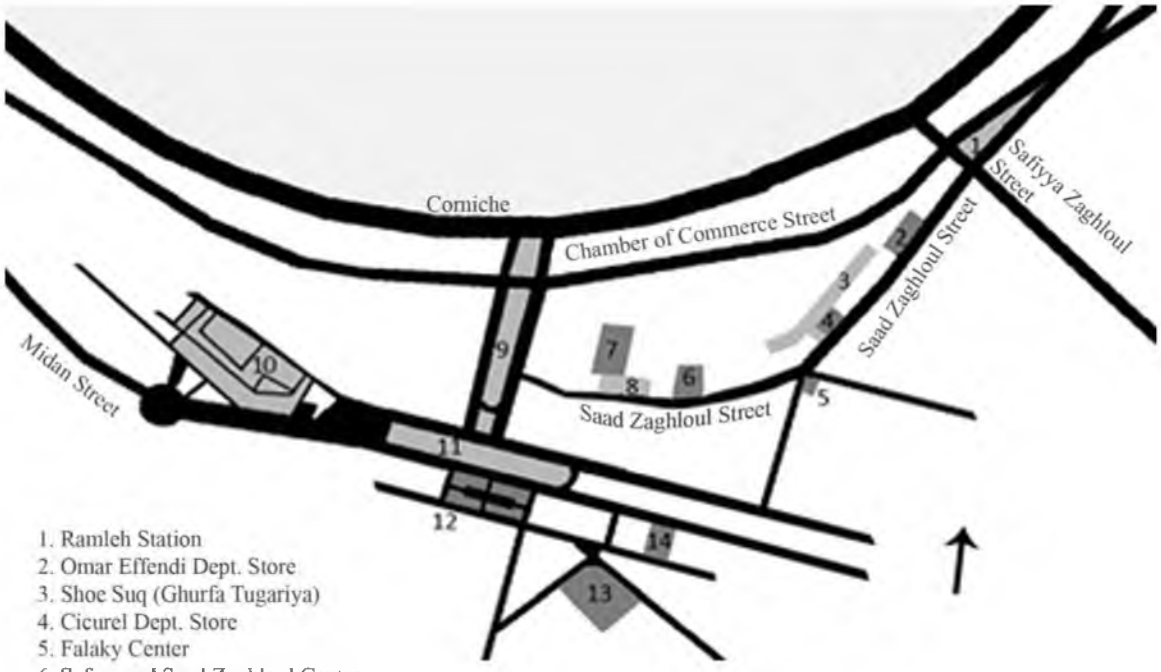

Figure 4.3 - Map of downtown Alexandria (Mansheiya and Mahata Ramleh).

Figure 4.4 - Omar Effendi Department Store, main store, façade facing Saad Zaghloul Street (2010).

Figure 4.5 - Omar Effendi Department Store entrance, facing Saad Zaghloul Square. Entrance is located in the center of the building below the large second story windows and contrasting stone in the shape of a gable (2011).

Figure 4.6 - Hannaux Department Store, main store, in the process of opening for the day (2010).

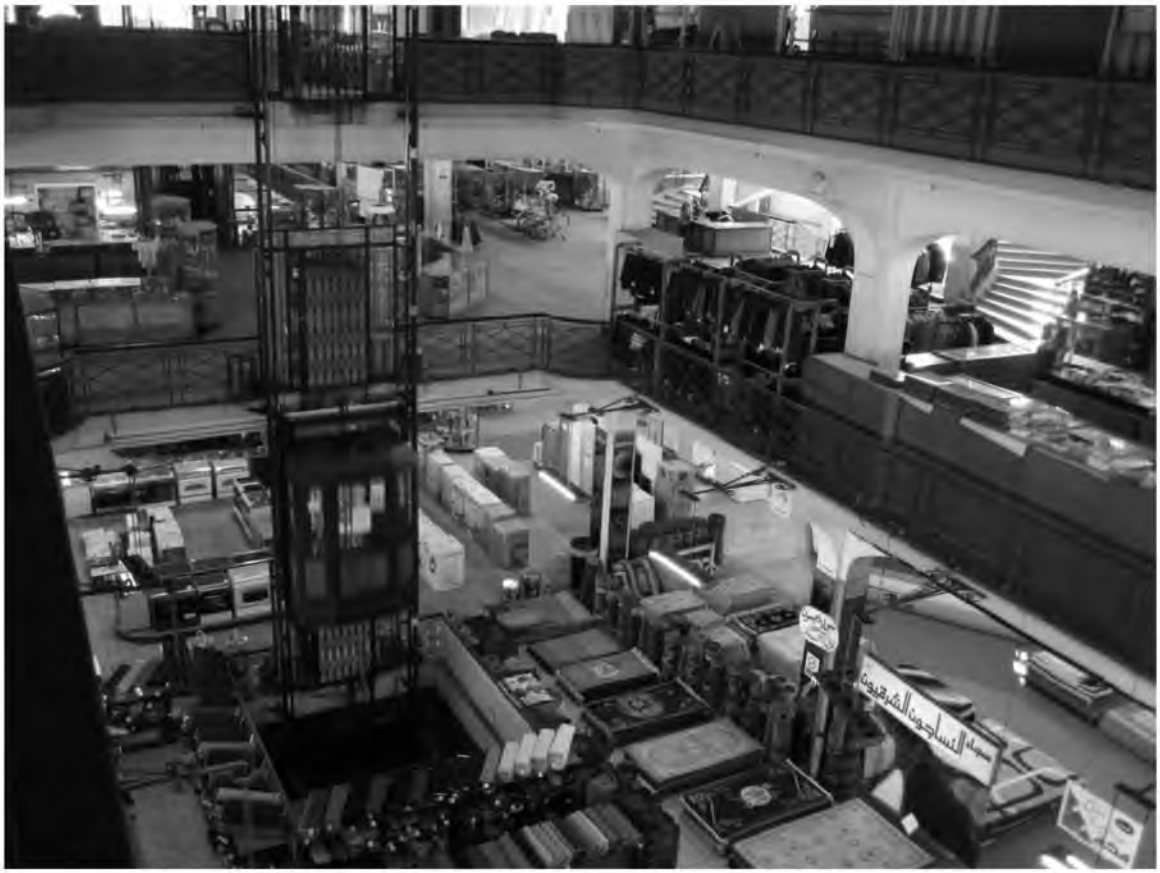

Figure 4.7 - Hannaux, west atrium with original elevator. Appliances, carpets, and fabric on first floor. Clothing on the second floor (2010).

Figure 4.8 - Hannaux interior, children's section. Signage in Arabic and French (2010).

Figure 4.9 - Hannaux interior, east atrium. China and crystal on first floor. Clothing in old casework on second floor. Furniture on third floor (2010).

Figure 4.10 - Cicurel Department Store façade on Saad Zaghloul Street. January 2010 - before renovation (2010).

Figure 4.11 - Cicurel Department Store. December 2010 - after renovation (2010).

Figure 4.12 - Cicurel window sexualized display. Female Manequin dressed in lingerie, on her knees, serving a tray of six small glasses (2010).

Figure 4.13 - Pellegrini & Naoum Department Store (2010).

Figure 4.14 - Pellegrini & Naoum interior with original woodwork and mezzanine (2010).

Figure 4.15 - Shops along Saad Zaghloul Street with daytime traffic (2010).

Figure 4.16 - Abandoned stairs to former underground shopping center at Ramleh Station (2010).

Figure 4.17 - Enclosure to protect escalator to underground shopping center at Ramleh Station. Used as a book store (2010).

Figure 4.18 - Mena Mall, exterior. Smooth tile facade of yellow and white stripes contrasts with adjacent buildings (2010).

Figure 4.19 - Zahran Mall, smooth tile exterior in contrast with other buildings in background (2010).

Figure 4.20 - San Stefano Mall on lower floors of tower. View from Corniche (2010).

Figure 4.21 - One of the outdoor plazas in Green Plaza Mall (2010).

Table 4.1 – Shopping Centers in Alexandria, 2011.

	Opening date	Retail square footage	Number of retail floors	Cinema screens	Dining options	Grocery or Hypermarket	Arcade	Other tenants	Parking spaces
International-Style Malls									
Green Plaza	2002	538,000	2	6	EC, R, FC	Carrefour	Large	Hilton Hotel	1,500
City Centre	2003	107,700	1	8	EC, R, FC	Carrefour	Large		5,800
San Stefano	2005	333,560	4	10	EC, R, FC	Metro	Large	Four Seasons Hotel, apartments, offices	2,000
Small Malls									
Mena	1997	41,264	5	0	SC		Small	Offices	70
Wataneiya	1997	21,520	2	0	SC		None	Apartments, offices	110
Zahran	1998	75,320	4	4	FC	Zahran Market	Med.		0
Deeb	2003	32,280	6	3	SC, FC**		None	Reception centers, adult education	200
Kierosiez	2003	172,160*	3	2	SC***		None	Apartments	400
Falaky	2008	12,912	4	0	SC		None	Apartments	0
Shopping Centers									
Safwa	1998	26,900	5	0	SC		None		200
Saad Zaghloul	2001	6,456	3	0	0		None	Reception center	0

EC = Elite Cafes, SC = Single Café, R = Restaurants, FC = Food Court/Fast Food

Alexandria Province Statement of Malls, Jan. 7, 2012

Source: ICSC Shopping Center Directory, 1/25/2011

Source: Site visits 2010, 2011

*This municipality data is suspiciously large. Based on site visits, the actual area is significantly smaller.

**Food court appears to be closed there was space for ten restaurants

***Only a single café was operating in the space designed for a food court

CHAPTER 5

OPPOSING TRAJECTORIES: UPWARDLY MOBILE SPACE, POPULAR SPACE, AND (TRADITIONAL) IDEAL SPACE

In Alexandria, there were three concepts of space which influenced the value of retail space. In general, the character of spaces was moving in one of two opposing directions: upwardly mobile elite and popular, and this had significant ramifications for the gendering of space. This chapter will examine the emphasis given to upwardly mobile space, and contrast it with the realities of the majority of urban space which was devaluing. As the trajectory of spaces bifurcated, there was another conflict in the concept of space. This conflict was between an idealized conception of traditional gendered space and how men and women actually inhabited the city. Traditional ideas about space reserve the public world for men and the private world as the domain of women, but in reality men and women typically occupy the same spaces.

Divergence of a Bifurcated Middle Class

According to an astute blogger who goes by the name of Mo-ha-med, Egyptian status does not fall into the simple upper-middle-lower class gradient. Instead, he

proposes that there are two middle-classes. There may be an income overlap between the two classes and they have several superficial aspects in common, such as sending their children to private schools and using public transportation, but they have two different trajectories (Table 5.1). The upper-middle class is internationally oriented, integrated into the world economy, and retains some associations with the upper-classes. Members of this group speak foreign languages (English being most prominent) and engage in white collar professional work. The lower-middle class, on the other hand, may actually be wealthier than the upper-middle class in some cases, but its members do not have the markers of social distinction. They choose neighborhood or religious schools rather than foreign language schools for their children, watch Egyptian rather than foreign films, and live in one of the well-established suburbs rather than new exclusive neighborhoods. Skilled trades such as plumbers and mechanics as well as military and police officers (of sufficient rank) are included in this class. The important distinction is that money cannot transverse the divide between these two categories of middle class. In order to be a part of the upper-middle class, or the upwardly mobile middle class, one must have upper-class markers such as being oriented to the international community and being from a good family (*ibn nas*). The lower-middle class or limited-mobility middle class cannot breach this divide no matter how much money they make because they have no association with the upper-class or the international community. Mo-ha-med notes that advertisers have failed to recognize the potential purchasing power of the lower middle class and thus, they orient their ads solely to the upper-class population. Although the imaginary life which is typified by "an ultra-modern kitchen which is then cleaned up by the slim fair-skinned mother" (Mo-ha-med 2009) is beyond the reach of the upper-middle

class, it is within the reach of their aspirations, but it is completely foreign to the lower-middle class. He suggests that the country could be economically strengthened if businesses acknowledged the lower middle class as an important part of the consumer economy instead of focusing only on higher status customers (Mo-ha-med 2009).

Mo-ha-med's blog is indicative of the nature of retail space as well. In general, there was a preference for upscale malls which were only economically accessible to the wealthy patrons. They were open to occasional purchases by middle classes, and beyond the reach of the lower classes. Within an economy of limited purchasing power, the preference for upscale international oriented malls could be associated with the desire, especially by the upwardly mobile middle class, to be connected with an upscale international oriented lifestyle. In reality, most of the population could not afford to shop in these locations so two alternatives developed. The first were attempts to duplicate upwardly mobile spaces but without the capital or correct modern/international references. These could be deemed either failures to achieve elite status, or successes in achieving affordable knock off status. The second coping strategy was to create space which may attempt to be "modern" but without essential class markers fails to achieve classiness and reached out to lower-middle customers. It was well established that the international-style malls were associated with the upper-class and street vendors with the lower classes, but the vast middle ground between the two raises interesting questions about the extent to which some spaces were able to achieve upward mobility, how others attempt to imitate upscale space, and others which are desperately trying to avoid losing all status. It was within the divergent trajectories of the two middle classes that that battle for status in retail space was played out.

Creating Upwardly Mobile Space

Upwardly mobile spaces were compelling because participation within them reinforced the upper-class or "elevated" the middle class with few barriers to entrance. This increased the number of people who participated in these spaces and thus, increased its value due to popularity. However, it is important to distinguish upwardly mobile space from upper-class restricted space. In the past, the upper-class socialized in exclusive clubs such as Alexandria Sporting Club[93] or Smouha Sporting Club which required a significant investment to join. These clubs were closed to outsiders. During the cosmopolitan period the upper-class also socialized in cafes in the central city which were only open to the "foreigners" and the highest social classes, which excluded the bulk of the population. After the 1952 Revolution, the exclusive clubs were open to native Egyptians, but still required significant capital to join. For the mall generation (beginning in 1997), the sporting clubs were no longer the only exclusive locations. Not only were the malls conceived of as upper-class playgrounds, but they were also open to the middle class without a membership. One could argue that they were democratizing urban space because any person could enter these choice spaces. Within this democratizing atmosphere, in order to retain their upwardly mobile status and appearance of exclusivity, these spaces had to differentiate themselves from the neighborhood, from the city at large, and from the past.

Shopping malls were the most visible and recognizable upwardly mobile spaces and differentiated themselves from their contexts through scale, materials and maintenance. First, the massive scale of the shopping malls contrasted with their local contexts. Even most of the small malls were enormous masses in contrast the adjacent

[93] Interview December 12, 2010. Twenty-six year old professional woman.

buildings. The fact that each mall consisted of a cohesive design, further separated it from high-rise apartment and office buildings which were be individualized for each unit. There were several ways that malls manifested their difference from the neighboring buildings. For example, Green Plaza encompassed one massive block and was set back from the main street by a tree-lined parking lot. Even more so, City Centre Mall became an island in a sea of space because it was set behind a green strip along the road and an even more massive parking lot. San Stefano Mall did not have the advantage of extra real estate but it was enormous: thirty-one stories, compared with the surrounding five - fifteen story buildings, and it dominated the dense neighborhood. Even though the mall was only four floors of this massive complex, it was architecturally integrated into the whole complex and huge in its own right (Figure 5.1).

Even small malls distinguished themselves from their surroundings through their massing because they were typically set in residential neighborhoods with smaller scale buildings filled with individual units. Mena Mall accomplished this through its cube-like massing which contrasted with the tall narrow apartment blocks, but its greatest distinction came from the materials employed on the façade. The graphic yellow and white diagonal tile stripes were at odds with dingy concrete buildings with peeling paint surrounding the mall (Figure 4.18). Similarly, Fakaly Mall screamed "difference" through its use materials (Figure 5.2). The high-rise building is set among nineteenth century and early twentieth urban blocks with plastered façades and balconies. In contrast, the tower of Falaky Mall was clad in reflective sapphire blue grid of glass. The portion of the building which housed the shopping area is covered by a giant four story abstract graphic of undecipherable content. In the same way, the sea-foam green panels

of Zahran Mall dramatically contrasted with neutral colors of the surrounding buildings (Figure 4.19).

The third way malls differentiated themselves from their settings was through higher maintenance standards. The levels of maintenance also corresponded to the overall status of the malls as well. San Stefano and City Centre Malls were impeccably maintained with no signs of wear or damage. Green Plaza was almost equally maintained with only a few railings in need of paint. The second tier of maintenance belonged to the small malls which were well maintained but showed signs of aging or slightly lower standards. For example, the façades of Mena Mall were in excellent condition, but when the central air-conditioning broke in the mall's second year of operation, it was never replaced. Instead shop owners added individual climatization units on the north side of the building.[94] The net result was that the north façade, which faced a street, was filled with mechanical units and looked cluttered and cheap (Figure 5.3). The third tier included shopping centers which had significant maintenance issues and could in no way be considered upscale space.

A prime example is Safwa Center which was housed in a building whose initial "modern" design would have set it apart from the surrounding nineteenth and twentieth century buildings but has since developed the patina of urban grime and thus, blended in with its surroundings. Although care was taken to keep the interior painted, pieces of tile and trim were missing, wires for unused outdated television sets were visible, cheap kiosks were located on the ground floor, and there was a general air of being run down. In order to maintain upscale status, shopping malls needed to physically differentiate

[94] Interview with Ihab el-Khodairy, assistant manager of Mena Mall, March 13, 2010.

themselves from the quotidian environment and when a space ceased to separate itself from the milieu, they ceased to be upscale.

Malls differentiated themselves from the city at large by creating an environment foreign to the rest of the city. As with any major city, Alexandria contained significant urban annoyances, and like malls elsewhere, the Alexandrine shopping malls rescued people from summer heat, winter cold, rain, traffic, pollution and noise, but there were several amenities which were particularly appreciated here. The security force was considered more than a necessary evil. It was regarded as an important factor separating the malls space from the street and controlling behavior. Both visitors and managers reported that the presence of security caused people, especially lower-class young men to behave better. In fact, behaviors such as sexual harassment, hassling women, and fighting were associated with the lower classes, thus the absence of these behaviors was an important distinction from the city at large. As Gafaar[95], the manager of Green Plaza explained, because people had been visiting the mall for years, the expectations of upper-class behaviors had been disseminated such there were fewer problems (in 2011).

Security also contributed to an internal lifestyle which was different from outside of the malls. Shops all opened and closed at the appropriate times, preserved the architectural integrity of the mall and reported maintenance issues. This created a consistent environment that did not exist outside of the mall. Furthermore, the cleanliness within the malls was another way in which malls distinguished themselves from the city at large. Most of the malls, both small and large were kept scrupulously clean. In fact, out of all visits to malls, the only place trash was spotted on the floor was at Safwa Center, which was far from an upscale mall. All other malls, including the small malls were

[95] Omar Gaafar, City Centre Mall, December 16, 2011.

entirely devoid of litter. Although absent of trash, some of the lower status malls had acquired a dinginess on the floors which diminished the appearance of cleanliness. This was the problem that hampered store owners outside of the malls. They were constantly cleaning the sidewalks in front of their shops, but they never appeared clean. Alexandria was plagued by a patina of dirt which aged buildings quickly. In addition, the abysmal state of repair of most sidewalks meant that one risked a sprained ankle with every outing (Figure 5.4). On top of this, there was a problem of migrating waste which plagued the entire city, but in the mall, one's ankles were never attacked by flying rubbish. In fact, the mall reaffirmed its high status by separating people from the noise, weather, pollution, inconsistencies, and dirtiness of the city in general.

Conforming to consumerist culture, shopping malls broke with the past. Many informants expressed that part of the pleasure of malls was being part of modern life. There was nowhere else in the city where one could experience space distinctly different from the general fabric of the city as in the malls. The large massing of malls produced some of the only large-scale indoor spaces in the city and the spaces designed for strolling were markedly different from the spaces of the past. The only possible analogy would be the Women's Market (or Zinqat al-Sittat) which included numerous small shops under a continuous roof. But these two types of spaces were completely different. The market, also known as the women's squeeze, for the tight spaces within, was famous for having narrow walkways which made views and strolling difficult. The malls, on the other hand, facilitated strolling with wide comfortable corridors and several (San Stefano, Green Plaza and Mena) were designed to see and be seen. It was not enough to be simply different from the surroundings; an upscale space must be different in a modern and

stylish way. As mentioned previously, the brutal façade of Safwa Center was different from the surrounding architecture, but did not follow the current architectural trends and was marginalized because of it. Similarly, Mena Mall's exterior was bold and its graphic demonstrated a break with the past, but in 2010 appeared dated and thus, has lost status.

Another way in which malls separated themselves from the past was through the inclusion of modern amenities. Malls contained free toilets which were for the most part clean and contained ample space. The larger malls provided baby changing stations, for the convenience of parents, ATMs, prayer rooms, and parking lots. Each of these was entirely absent in the city center (except prayer space) and represented modern conveniences. On a smaller scale, shops were typically attended by hired employees rather than the owner and his/her family. This was a clear distinction from the traditional way of doing business and was indicative of the modern (and impersonal) lifestyle. The most important way malls manifested their modernness was through the inclusion of shops containing trendy and up-to-date merchandise. In general this meant international clothing stores. Secondly, they showcased this merchandise using contemporary display techniques including ample space between goods. This was in contrast to less stylish stores which crammed as much merchandise as possible into display areas and on shelves. By exhibiting their modernness and differentiation from the past, malls could reaffirm their upper-class status, but as spaces lost chicness and receded back into the undifferentiated milieu, they lost status. So for malls to remain upwardly mobile spaces, they needed to constantly fight against age and fashion obsolescence.

The Convenience of a Resort-like Experience

By celebrating their difference from the rest of the city and setting the shopping space apart within a uniform environment, malls were essentially creating a resort-like setting where shopping became a mini-vacation designed for the convenience and comfort of the shopper. As mentioned previously, malls exhibited a higher standard of architectural design and maintenance, comfortable temperatures, and modern conveniences, and their all-inclusive nature encouraged patrons to spend as much time as possible there with the hope that they would spend more money. Patrons were offered coffee shops for spending time with friends, restaurants and fast-food establishments to ward off hunger, movie theaters for entertainment and arcades to amuse children. This all occurred within a space staffed by often young employees who were expected to be polite, modern, and knowledgeable of foreign languages and style. In higher-class malls, one was more likely to find the ideal than in the nonelite malls where the likelihood of finding internationally oriented workers diminished greatly. The upper-class was accustomed to convenient service, but for middle-class individuals, malls provided an environment which was conveniently constructed around their desires and was exceedingly compelling – where they could pretend to be upper-class. A government worker and mother of a thirteen year old daughter explained:

> The younger generation prefers the malls. They love it. When I say to my daughter, let's go down and buy some food, she complains that she's tired or that it's tiring. Why can't we go to Carrefour [City Centre Mall]? she says. "It's easier and I can go and look at accessories. I need a bracelet." They like malls because they are clean and modern. But who knows if they will still prefer them when they are mothers, when they have to economize. Young people – this generation, the generation of my daughter, they don't know the value of money.[96]

[96] Interview, January 5, 2011.

One of the most effective devices of the upscale mall was its ability to create a space which transported people from a complicated life into one which is centered on their convenience and comfort. The resort-like atmosphere reinforced the upper-class status of wealthy patrons and "elevated" lower class patrons.

Gender, Class, and Staffing

One of the requirements to create this resort-like experience was the massive staff. The personnel with whom patrons interacted the most, sales and security staff, come from a class below the target audience for the shoppers. There was a preference for female shop workers because it was believed (and taught in business school) that women appealed to both male and female customers[97], but in actuality, only the second-class (small) malls had a majority female sales staffs. The highest-class malls (including Zahran), average about one third of their sales staff as women (Table 5.2). The small malls, on the other hand, averaged above 50% female (Table 5.2). One reason for this imbalance could be found in the gender balance of the malls' merchandise. The shops in the small malls were dominated by shops for women so it was natural that they would have a higher percentage of female staff, but it is curious that at the higher-class malls, which recognized that female staff were more advantageous, there was a lower percentage of women working. It also appeared that men had been more successful at obtaining the high class jobs (in the higher-class malls) (Table 5.2).

There was an interesting relationship between gender and class of the shop workers (Table 5.3). One upper-middle class male informant described the relationship this way:

[97] Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding, Interview December 12, 2010.

> In City Centre, the owner selects who's going to work there. They know languages, like English and they are pretty girls with good costume. There is a difference between working in a mall or in a *suq*, but in Egypt there is a stereotype for anyone who works in a shop. She has a certain reputation. Those who work in malls are lower-middle class. If I had a daughter who was educated, I would expect her to get a good job and I would never say "go and work in a shop." For middle-and lower-class families there are several factors about having their daughters work in a shop. Number one, if it is a girl, they prefer a place close to home. If the store closes at 11pm, how is she going to get home? If it is a boy, there is no problem. Also it depends on how much they earn. There are many factors in this decision. It is more prestigious to work in a high-class mall, but the job itself is not prestigious. San Stefano is better than Mena Mall, but it's still a sales job. I would never agree that this was okay for my sister.[98]

So while passing time in a mall was a socially elevating activity, working in a mall could be considered both elevating and debasing. Any job working in a shop was debasing for an upper-middle class or upper-class woman but for lower-middle class and lower-class women, it afforded an opportunity to mingle with higher-class people and spend time in an upper-class atmosphere. Thus, for lower-middle class women, they could elevate their status compared to their peers by working in a higher-class mall. One twenty-nine year old professional woman explained her journey from a lowly security position as a fitting room attendant to sales staff and finally to an office job as a receptionist:

> After I graduated from college in the Faculty of Commerce, my father got me a job in security at San Stefano mall. I didn't really want to do it because it was security and I had a degree in commerce but he told me it would be good experience and a good way to start. Later I could change and get a better job. At first I was assigned to a lingerie store but I didn't like it much. The shop girl didn't treat me well and her boyfriend kept putting me down. He kept trying to get me to go and buy food for him as if I was lower than him. I didn't like it at all. My job was security in the fitting rooms – to make sure that women did not steal anything. I got paid 550 pounds[99] and just had to stay there for eight hours and then go home.
>
> Then one day I was moved to another store and this one was very nice. It sold clothing for men and women but all of the workers were men. They treated me

[98] Interview October 18, 2010.
[99] Egyptian pounds. About $100US (per month) in 2010.

> better. One of the young men was not friendly. He just said hello and enough to get by but he wasn't rude and didn't put me down like the other guy.
> Then they moved me to another branch of the store. It was so far away and not in a good neighborhood so I stopped working for them. I was unemployed for two or three months.
>
> My uncle told me that he got me another job at a sporting goods store as a sales clerk. This was a much better job. At least I was in commerce. Sales is much higher than security. I really loved working in this place. I even worked overtime because I loved working there so much.
>
> But then my uncle told me that I had an interview [at a mall management office]. I didn't want to go. I liked my current job but when I went for the interview I got the job…My uncle coached me…He helps me do better in this job. I am a receptionist. This job is much better than sales. Now I am in management [at a shopping mall].[100]

This account clarified the hierarchy of jobs associated with retail sales and the low position many college graduates have to take. As a fitting room attendant, she was part of the security team and as the lowest ranking individual she was seen as servant. The shopkeeper's boyfriend tried to take advantage of her low position and treated her as if she was beneath him, even though he was not even employed in that shop. In her second two jobs, she enjoyed working in a shop because although not ideal, they were in the field of commerce and she was not put down. But as a receptionist, she was part of management and was very proud of this position, even though it is the lowest post in management.

Problems Facing Upwardly Mobile Retail Spaces

There were three major problems facing malls trying to maintain upwardly mobile status: competition, modernness and the economy. Competition was the greatest problem for malls, especially the small malls. The early malls had the market share until they were

[100] Interview January 2, 2011.

supplanted by a more compelling mall, and they saw an exodus of patrons. For example, in its early days, there were 30-35,000 visitors per day at Zahran Mall but fewer than 5% made purchases. Most came to enjoy the space, to see movies or eat at the food court. In 2011, there were fewer than 10% of the original foot falls, but 90% of these people made purchases.[101] Once the market stabilized, the migration of patrons halted but there was still fierce competition for the limited number of wealthy customers. Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding (San Stefano Mall), admitted that there was a strong sense of competition between the malls. San Stefano was the first to introduce hair dressers in the mall and became a trend in all the malls:

> Competition. It is all about competition between the malls. It will keep upping. But there is a limit to the purchasing power. Some people say that Alex can only support two malls (Green Plaza isn't a real mall) but I don't think so. Look at Abu Dhabi. It has four or five and it is smaller than Alex…Today malls are booming. Green Plaza is not as high as Carrefour and San Stefano. Middle-upper class people, like myself, never go there. Not for fashion brands. People go to Green Plaza for the cinema…There is more sports stuff too. People don't go there for the coffee shops. Maybe they would if there were more brands. [102]

The continued construction and rumors of new malls were condemned by mall managers, store owners, architects and planners, but not by customers who were excited for additional retail opportunities. This same frustration with increased competition between malls was expressed by everyone in the retail industry, from mall managers to street vendors. There was a general consensus that competition was destroying opportunities for existing retailers to make a reasonable living. The need for novelty or being considered modern was related to the issue of competition. Samia Mohamed Aly, the manager of Wataneiya Plaza described the fascination with newness in Alexandria:

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[101] Data based on interview with Mohammed Amer, Zahran Mall.
[102] Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding, Interview December 12, 2010.

> Alexandria is a small city and the malls have the same model: Carrefour [City Centre], Four Seasons [San Stefano]. Tomorrow who knows what it will be. People always want to go to the new place. Changes happen quickly in Alexandria. Whereas in the U.S. it might take twenty years, the changes happen in three to four years here. It is illogical….When the products change, then the people change. That's what happened here. In the past, people came [to Wataneiya Mall] for the name brands, but the brands left and so did the customers.[103]

Malls which no longer appeared modern or innovative compared to other malls lost their upwardly mobile status and began the slow decline so common in Alexandria. The third issue was the lack of depth in the market. There was a preference for targeting wealthy clients, but they were limited in number and the vast majority of the population had limited purchasing power. The managers classified customers on a scale of A to D with A being the best and most sought-after customers and D being the least desirable and most problematic.[104] Based on interviews with managers, all malls wanted to think of themselves as receiving A or B customers, but there was a lot more market potential in C and D class customers because they comprised such a large percentage of the population.[105][106] Among mall managers, there was great disagreement about the relative positions of their malls but general agreement that the population had lost purchasing power. According to Khalili, the manager of Falaky Mall:

> Falaky is a solidly B class mall. There is some A but not really C. Carrefour is A-D for food but for clothes it is A only….[107]

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[103] Samia Mohamed Aly, manager of Wataniya Mall, Interview, December 14, 2010.
[104] Although none of the mall managers defined the classification of customers more than "A is the most desirable," it seems clear from context that A represents the wealthy upper-class (a tiny fraction of the population), B represents the upwardly mobile middle class, C represents the limited-mobility or lower middle class, and D represents the lower classes.
[105] Omar Gaafar, Manager, City Centre Mall, Interview December 16, 2010.
[106] In 2008, 84% of the Egyptian population lived on less than $5US/day/person and 32% lived on less than $2.50US/day/person.
[107] Mr. Khalil, Mall Manager, Falaky Center, Interview December 21, 2010.

In terms of the economy, Khalil explained that in the past people might have been able to purchase two pieces of clothing for 100 pounds[108], but in 2010 they could only buy one. So they bought less than before but spent more money. El Gabry,[109] explained that the design and planning of a mall must reflect the target client. When San Stefano first opened, it attempted to attract A+ customers and the slogan was "San Stefano Sense of Excellence":

> The design of a mall has to follow the target market. San Stefano targets Class A and A- so it has to have décor to match but its location between the tram line and the Corniche means that anyone can get there…While San Stefano targets the wealthy, middle-class people can still afford to shop there.

On the other hand, according to Gaafar, one of the things that set City Centre Mall apart from others was its research into best practices. While they closely watched the trends in the Gulf, they also drew from the best practices around the world. One of the most important things was achieving the ideal tenant mix to reflect the realities of the market potential in Alexandria:

> The problem is not finding tenants: it is finding good tenants, who will be successful and who will bring the right mix. There are lots of possible tenants. We look for market gaps and look for things which are over trading such as jewelry and the food court. The market potential of Alexandria is in the C and D class. This is where the vast majority of the population is. The target market of City Centre is Class A-C. We tweak it to AB but there is more potential in C1, C2, and lower B…The traffic foot fall for last year was about 15 million visitors…but the quality of the foot fall is not the focus. We realize what the market it. There are limits to the number of A & B customers out there.[110]

In order to accommodate the lower-middle class patrons (many of whom had some disposable income, even if they do not have the same status as the upwardly mobile middle class) City Centre carefully reviewed price points. One of the most effective ways

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[108] Egyptian pounds. About $20US in 2010.
[109] Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding, Interview December 12, 2010.
[110] Omar Gaafar, Manager, City Centre Mall, Interview December 16, 2010.

to reach out to these customers was to add kiosks. Besides offering less expensive merchandise, they also had shorter leases and generated extra income for the mall without constructing additional space. The contracts with shops were medium and long term leases so the flexibility of adding or changing kiosks allowed the mall to more quickly respond to market trends. The market in Alexandria was shallow so mall managers needed to compensate by innovation. Without innovation, malls failed, but they were also subject to difficulties of increased competition and limited wealth of patrons. In order to survive as upwardly mobile spaces, malls had to constantly battle against these issues.

Maintaining status as an upwardly mobile space required substantial effort to rise above the middle- and lower-class milieu and stay on top of global trends. To be competitive, a retail space needed to physically, ideologically, and visually separate itself from the rest of the city, but unlike elite spaces of the past, it was not required to exclude the nonelite populace. Because of the large lower-middle class portion of the population, their purchasing power represented a significant source of income so their exclusion would be counter-productive to profit-making goals. Instead, upwardly mobile spaces called for upper-class behaviors and employed security personnel to enforce behavioral norms even if all of the customers did not come from the upper-classes. Above all else, upwardly mobile spaces needed to be stylish and trendy, especially in the merchandise sold. Many malls lost status as their international brand stores left. Similarly, the highest-class malls were those which followed international trends in décor and planning. Malls became the prime locators of upwardly mobile space because they combined these aspects in a convenient comfortable environment. The factors of newness, separation, and

convenience came together to form a space which reinforced the status of the upper-class, but still allowed the middle classes to sample a privileged lifestyle.

Popular Space: The Deterioration of the Cosmopolitan City

The central city has seen many changes in the past fifty years, particularly in terms of retail space. Yasser Aref, an architecture professor and conservationist recalled that the most dramatic changes to the urban center began about ten years ago (around 2000). The city began creating new urban cores which were mostly based on commercial development. There was a demand for larger shops, international stores and larger grocery stores. This resulted in the desertion of some parts of downtown and a change in clients. As upscale shops abandoned the central business district, the vacant spaces were filled with less expensive shops which were popular with the lower classes. The downtown entrepreneurs who recognized these changes, like *New Man* and *Mobaco,*[111] opened branches in the new retail centers including San Stefano and City Centre. They were able to survive but those who did not recognize this trend and remained exclusively downtown ran into difficulties.[112] This shift in centers also compounded the problems of the struggling department stores. The department stores had acted like anchors for the downtown business district and drew people to the center of the cosmopolitan city, but as the center shifted it devastated the already struggling stores.

Mohamed Awad noted that while there had been many eminent department stores, they have mostly collapsed due to government sequestration in the 1960s and being in the

[111] Mobaco is an Egyptian cotton clothing manufacturing company that is licensed to sell the French brand New Man.
[112] Interview January. 11, 2010. Yasser Aref, architect and planner.

public sector (or being run by the government).[113] They were no longer elegant places filled with the latest fashions from Europe and a cornucopia of languages. Instead, they were primarily Arabic speaking zones with either dismal or sterile-looking interiors which sold cheap imported goods. Because of the shift in retail centers, the downtown area ceased to be an upscale shopping destination. The upper-class people who continued to shop in downtown went to a specific location rather than for leisure shopping.[114] Besides shifting the retail center away from downtown, malls all succeeded in reframing the former cosmopolitan city as old fashioned and substandard.

In terms of status, it seems clear that central Alexandria has declined. Architects and planners regretfully admitted this fact. The conditions of the buildings were in decline, there was an enormous need for restoration to most structures, and the infrastructure upgrades were poorly executed. The beautiful cosmopolitan city described in memoirs and photographs became an aging shadow of its former elegance. Instead of the Egyptian department stores being the most desirable places to shop, the latest fashion trends could be seen in large shopping malls. Malls supplanted department stores in terms of desirable goods, shopping within a large controlled space and preferable interior design. At the malls, the most current merchandising and spatial trends were found, whereas the department stores had reoriented their business to the lower-middle class and had failed employ contemporary merchandising and architectural trends. Similarly, the shops in the city center did not kept up to date with architectural design and merchandising except to sell knock offs of international brands. The profusion of new lower-(middle) class shops cheapened the area both architecturally and socially. In

[113] Interview with Dr. Awad, March 27, 2010.
[114] Interview January 11, 2010. Yasser Aref, architect and planner.

addition to the urban deterioration, individual shops applied façades to their spaces clashed with the neighboring façades and the overall building (Figure 5.5). The individualization of the space declassed the area because it obliterated any sense of order, control or harmony. Additionally, like the new merchandise, the materials used and workmanship of construction was of significantly poorer quality than that of the original shops and buildings. As these lower-class shops moved in, hoards of middle- and lower-class people began to crowd the area. Particularly on weekend nights, Saad Zaghloul Street was densely packed with window shoppers strolling up and down the street. So it would be wholly inaccurate to claim that the city center was dying. Instead, it was losing status or becoming popular while increasing the intensity of usage.

Physical Degradation of the Urban Core

Compounding the perception of shabbiness was the physical condition of the architecture and infrastructure. As mentioned previously, a lack of both private and municipal funds to maintain the urban core resulted in serious deterioration. The main architectural problems facing this area were destructive improvements, unsympathetic remodeling, and a general lack of cleaning and maintenance. As mentioned previously, there was a general patina of urban grime which pervaded almost every building. In some cases, individual units were repainted but that did little to improve the overall appearance of the districts. Building details such as signage, trim, balconies, glass, and shutters were often in poor repair or missing. Occasionally crumbling buildings intermingled with actively used and well-maintained buildings. Unsympathetic renovations added cheap materials which aged quickly and obliterated the architectural integrity of the building as a whole, often destroying the former elegance. Some of these additions created new

stores in former circulation spaces such as passages between building and entrances to buildings. Some shops expanded beyond their original borders to appropriate additional space while other spaces were subdivided into multiple tenants (Figure 5.6). All of these problems were exacerbated by the modernization projects which added power, plumbing, air conditioning and satellite televisions to buildings. These "upgrades" became barnacles of the façades of both the formerly well-appointed buildings as well as more recent constructions (Figure 5.7). Wires were strung across and between buildings while air conditioning units, satellite dishes and flood lights littered the façades. In the city center, cornices, ledges and other details of nineteenth century buildings were brutally cut allow for plumbing pipes to run up the façades. The only heartening fact was that the greatest mutilation had been executed on the back façades and those away from the main streets, thus implying that there was a recognition of the value of a well maintained façade. Unfortunately, the individual storefronts with offensive renovations remained prominent on the most visible urban faces.

As an example of observations of urban decline, a Swiss woman who was born in Alexandria and lived there from 1934-1950 expressed her shock at the changes to the city when she returned in 1991:

> Once again, I was in for a shock. Everything had completely changed. Where our house had once stood, there were now several four storey buildings with a new street perpendicular to ours. The garbage lying everywhere was unbelievable…The way Alexandria has grown over the last few decades is quite extraordinary….The notion of town planning seemed unknown. Apartment blocks of all shapes and sizes had sprung up like mushrooms. For example, a small four storey building had been squeezed in between two narrow fourteen storey blocks. Every bit of free space seemed to be inhabited including sometimes even unfinished buildings, with washing hanging from the windows and other gaps. We occasionally caught sight of a pigeon cote or chicken cages on one of the small balconies. Everywhere we could see vehicles of all types blocking the streets whilst trying to make their way through the crowds. Totally veiled women

> with their brood of kids in tow were chatting in front of the gloomy entrances of various apartment buildings. On almost every street corner were overflowing garbage cans. And in the midst of it all, one saw brightly colored pyramids of oranges and mandarins artistically arranged by the fruiterers (Hardman 2008, 112, 114).

Similarly, a sixty year old woman who remained living in Alexandria communicated her disappointment about the state of the city and the political factors which have caused the decline:

> Saad Zaghloul Street was very nice, very clean, very everything. In 1985 everything started to fall, the whole attitude changed, and the ideology of the whole country. This began in 1974 with the change from socialism to capitalism, but it was not built well and they were not prepared enough for the change. For some time, they were able to keep the general sector good and kept it steady but gradually everything went down in quality. This took a period of 7-10 years. That is why everything was getting down – All the new projects were about consumer goods. [115]

Although downtown lost its status as the premier shopping district and the infrastructure was depreciating, it was not vacating. Instead a host of new shops filled in the vacant spaces and new retail establishments emerged. Throughout the city, as shopping centers or districts declined, old shops were being divided into smaller shops and as previously mentioned, new shops were occupying passageways, entrances and other former circulation space. In fact, in the city center, there were few vacancies, particularly on the main streets and plazas. These new infill stores sold less expensive goods and counterfeit international brands. According to El Gabry, in order to meet the demands for international brands some people copy the brand name goods and sell them to middle-class people. In Mansheiya the shops are Class C and D but there, one could

[115] Interview April 18, 2010.

find knock offs of knock offs.116 The intensity of downtown retail was also increasing through the development of new markets and increased street vendors.

The most interesting aspect of the urban shopping district was its increased popularity, even with all of these signs of "decline." It was indisputable that the condition of the buildings in the central city had deteriorated, but many of the other markers of decline could be conceived of differently when viewed from a non-elite perspective. First, the poorly executed infrastructure upgrades which damaged architectural details and contaminated the façades could be seen as modernization because they did in fact bring water, sewer, electricity, air-conditioning, and satellite televisions to these spaces. Similarly, the hodge-podge of mismatching storefront renovations which were so offensive architecturally could be seen as individual modernization projects and appreciated for their newness (even if they were not following the latest trends or in harmony with each other). These storefronts certainly expressed their difference from the nineteenth century buildings where they were located and thus conveyed a sense of modernity. Furthermore, the abundance of inexpensive goods allowed a much larger proportion of the population to participate in modern consumer culture. Thus, even with all of the signs of decay, the urban shopping district was modern in its own way.

Street Vendors

One of the most visible components of the increased intensity of retail in the urban core was the presence of vendors. Most of the existing research about street vendors focuses on the traditional market of selling food products, either as agricultural products or as prepared food, in the street or in *suqs*. These vendors provided an

[116] Nora El Gabry, Marketing Coordinator, TMG Holding, Interview December 12, 2010.

important service for people of all classes. Even in 2010, many upper-middle class informants mentioned obtaining their food from vendors. Much less studied is the business of urban street vendors selling nonfood items, primarily clothing and accessories. These vendors primarily catered to the lower middle and lower classes and originated from the same classes.

In the seminal study of the informal retail sector in Egypt, Tadros and Feteeha's study of squatter markets in Cairo, found that vending was not a transitory profession but one which was quite stable. Vendors enjoyed sustained relationships with clients and were part of strong networks. Many vendors inherited the profession from relatives. The study concluded that the high degree of satisfaction was related to the flexibility of job, usually being located near the vendor's home and being able to earn a reasonable income. The predominantly male workers also had several other factors in common. "The squatter vendors in our sample were generally young, married, had migrated to Cairo – often from urban areas in Upper Egypt – and had little formal education. In some measure, at least as a group, they reflected the demographic nature of the population at large" (Tadros et al. 1990, 22). Nearly 30% were under twenty-four years old and 60% were under thirty-four years (Tadros et al. 1990, 22-23). About half were illiterate and only one had a college education (Tadros et al. 1990, 26).

Sarah Loza's research on street food vendors in Minya provides important information about the politics, legal issues and practices of the vendors. Food and drink vendors were regulated by the Ministry of Housing and Public Utilities and the Ministry of Health and were considered a subset of street peddler (Loza 1991, 46). In 1985 the procedure to obtain a license included requesting a license from the Engineering

Department of the City council, two recent photographs, a police report showing no criminal record, and a fee of £E 1.10. Then the applicant would receive a medical checkup free of charge and if in good health would receive a health certificate. After this process, a license stipulating the type of food to be sold would be issued. If the vendor was not mobile and preferred a single location, an additional permit was required from the City Planning Department and the Utilities Police Department. For these permits, the vendor was required to pay 10 piastres for each square meter of pavement used, but vendors were never given these permits for most of the main streets (Loza 1991, 46).

In reality, the complex laws and regulations were rarely enforced. "Officials have very little information on vendors, very limited control, and very little appreciation for the significance of their activities." Even though the vendors provided a valuable service (providing cheap, convenient nutritious food without preservatives), they were often "harassed by government officials and chased off the streets. Activities related to the attainment of permits and licenses seem long and tedious especially for those who work for long hours or who are not experienced in dealing with government bureaucracies such as women, elderly men and illiterates" (Loza 1991, 51).

Similar to Tadros's finding, in my research, the vendors associated with food markets, most of whom were part of long standing networks and many had been selling from the same location for decades. In some cases there were several generations of vendors in the same market. Although this study did not collect specific data on the ages of the vendors, it was clear that the average age has increased. Unlike in the Tadros et al. study, most vendors in Alexandria were older than thirty-five years and very few were in their twenties. These vendors were typically in their thirties, forties and fifties with at

least one 100 year old woman. Also similar to other studies (Tadros et al. 1990; Hoodfar, Survival, 1996; Fakhouri 1987); women comprised a small portion of the overall vendors and were usually limited to goods requiring less capital. Unlike Hoodfar's study of poor quarters in Cairo, many of the female vendors in Alexandria sold fruits, which were more profitable but required more capital than vegetables. But the greatest difference between these studies from the 1980s and 1990s and my research was the universal dissatisfaction with the profession and the ability to earn a decent living. There was general agreement that although prices were higher in 2010, the profits were lower and it was more difficult to make ends meet. One older woman who had been selling vegetables for many years explained:

> In the past it was *helwa* [sweet or gentle]. Now there are more people but not enough money. In the past it was less money, but it was always enough.[117]

The most common topic which almost every merchant in the Cleopatra *suq* (an urban food market outside of the city center) wanted to discuss was the municipal harassment. The definition of what was illegal seemed to depend on the person explaining the regulations, the location, and the mood of the police officers. For some, any display in a street was illegal; others considered it safe on side streets while others have been harassed for peddling on the sidewalk. These vendors faced similar risk of confiscation of goods as those selling in the downtown area. One woman who had been selling garlic, eggs and cheese explained on the edge of the sidewalk,

> The government takes away everything in the street. I have no shop and they make me feel like a thief. There is no security. In the past, there were fewer people and fewer cars and business was better.[118]

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[117] Interview December 27, 2010.
[118] Interview December 27, 2010.

For this woman, having practiced the same profession in the same place for three decades was evidence of her legitimacy and she was hurt by the implication that her activities were illegal. But one of the problems facing the municipality was the increasing number of vendors who clogged the streets and inhibited flow of vehicular or pedestrian traffic. In Cleopatra market, where this woman worked, the streets were impassable by cars and pedestrians had to walk in the streets. One middle-class woman quietly remarked that the city isn't entirely wrong: the vendors made the streets impassable.

Although there were some changes in the lives of food vendors, the profession remained relatively consistent over the past thirty years. The job of street vendors who worked in the center of the city selling mostly wearable goods, on the other hand, was significantly different from the sellers associated with food markets. Like the vendors in the Tadros study, these vendors were typically young men, but that was where the similarities end. Many of these men had college degrees and saw vending as a temporary solution to unemployment, whereas the older vendors had left other jobs such as government positions or manual trades in favor of vending. The government recorded that there were a total of 6,532 street vendors in the city and 5,504 shops in all of the *suqs*, but size of irregular employment in selling was significantly higher at 15,452 vendors (Governate 2011).

Nonfood Street Vendors

The changes in the nonfood street vending profession affected the character of the downtown area profoundly because of the growth of new markets and increase in vendors. These new markets and vendors attracted customers seeking low priced alternatives to goods found in shopping malls and other high-end shops, and they took

advantage of the existing density of shops. Not only were new markets formed but wall space was being rented and sold to vendors and cabinets and kiosks were being built to facilitate their trade. The third change was the increase in vendors who had no spatial rights along sidewalks and city streets. Each of these changes resulted in an increase in the amount of space devoted to commerce, the density of merchandising and the chaos in the city which contributed to the devaluing of the downtown retail area in the eyes of city planners and the upwardly mobile population.

Downtown Street Vendors

The most visible increase in vendors could be seen on the major streets and plazas of central Alexandria. The most tenuous condition belonged to the street vendors who had no permanent location or permit. But these sellers were not necessarily unskilled poverty stricken workers, but men who had been squeezed out of more stable employment. The vendors were almost exclusively male. The few female vendors only engaged in vending only rarely and appeared to be extremely poor. The men, on the other hand, were usually young men in their twenties who were neatly dressed and almost none wore *galabayas*, or traditional clothing. Many of these men explained that they had university degrees but there were no jobs for them. While standing on the street was not profitable, it was better than sitting in a coffee shop all day. At least on the street, there was a chance they would earn some money. The youngest men were also the group most afraid of police harassment. They vigilantly watched for police and were always ready to pick up their wares and run. The police raids created even more chaos and insecurity on the streets.

Although he had been vending longer than most men in his age group, the story of one seller of palm heart slices could be considered typical of the young vendors. He had been selling palm hearts from a cart in the middle of Saad Zaghloul Street for ten years. He graduated from law school four years ago, but there were no jobs so he didn't bother getting his license to practice law. Every year, he said, things are getting worse and his life is getting worse so he is thinking about applying for his license.[119] He seemed to view vending as a temporary condition until he could begin his real career. Even though he had a good university degree, he did not have the markers of the upwardly mobile Egyptian professional class. For example, his speech was course and his hands and equipment were dirty (which was disturbing since he was selling food). The largest group of vendors was young men between eighteen and about thirty who had turned to street merchandising because they could not find a permanent position elsewhere and saw the large markups in retailing as worth the risk to earn a living.

The second largest group the downtown street vendors included men in their thirties who had been vending for ten to fifteen years. Nearly all had left other employment, such as the government, factory work, or as a mechanic, in order to pursue a career as a vendor. The low wages, especially in the case of government jobs, was the most commonly cited reason for changing professions. Many had received technical training or some college education, and almost all wore Western clothing. These men had more experience vending and knew the business better. They knew how to speak gently with female customers to make them feel comfortable and how to avoid police harassment. One vendor explained that police do not harass vendors on a side street and

[119] Interview January 6, 2011.

that they only want to keep the major streets open for traffic.[120] So he sold from a tarp on a tiny street which intersects Saad Zaghloul Street. They also had other coping strategies which might have included agreements with the police. In several police raids on the vendors selling at Midan Orabi, the young men ran from the police while one man in his mid to late thirties remained stationary with his table of jewelry. He fidgeted with the goods and never made eye contact with the police or other vendors and was completely ignored by the police. Although the profit was declining and they knew that their work was illegal, the general feeling was that street vending was necessary to provide for their families and better than more illegal enterprises such as drugs or smuggling.[121]

The demographics of the downtown street vendor were fairly narrow. They were typically men in their twenties and thirties from the lower-middle class or lower class who even with education could not obtain better jobs or who had left extremely low paying jobs. Most of the men over forty who could be seen selling on the street had a cabinet or kiosk and rights to vend. There were also a limited number of teenagers. There was a wide-ranging opinion among vendors and the general population that street vending was limited to men because of its hazards. One vendor explained that it would be impossible for girls to sell in the street because it would be difficult for them to run away when the police came.[122] When asked about female vendors, one middle-class man argued that there was no such thing in Alexandria. After a few examples were provided, he conceded that these women must be extremely poor and desperate. Indeed, the incidence of female vendors was so rare that in a month of observation, less than half a dozen women were sighted and only one sold regularly. Female street vendors were

[120] In other cases, vendors complained about police interference on minor streets and alleyways.
[121] Interviews January 6, 2011.
[122] Interview January 6, 2011.

almost nonexistent in the downtown area, but there were a noticeable number associated with the food markets, and the bulk of the downtown vendors are young men.

Enforcement and Street Vending

The major problem with vendors was that they interfered with the free flow of traffic in public spaces, often literally displaying their goods in the middle of busy streets – in attempts to draw more customers. In some places, the streets became completely impassible to vehicular traffic and on Saad Zaghloul Street they significantly restricted the sidewalks and encroached on the traffic lanes. Although the government expressed that its purpose in "cleaning up" the vendors included protection against counterfeit and poor quality goods, the police raids seemed only designed to rid the streets of the presence of the vendors (El-Fiqi 1994). I never noticed nor did any vendor report merchandise being confiscated for poor quality. In fact, when the police caught vendors and confiscated their goods, the merchandise would be returned to the vendors without inspection, after paying a fine. The police raids were frequent enough for the vendors to complain about them and feel that they were arbitrary and punitive, but frequent or effective enough keep the streets clear.

Unlike in the shopping malls, there was no enforcement against harassment. The vendors were a significant source of both nuisance and sexual harassment. They constantly called out to passers-by, often aggressively. Women were also subject to sexual harassment in the form of come-ons, persistent "compliments," excessive staring, and occasionally crude remarks. Though, vendors did not generally grab or grope female shoppers. Informants attributed this behavior to the lower-class back ground of the young male vendors. Compounding the problem of sexual harassment was the presence of other

young men who were even more aggressive in their comments, crude behavior, and occasional groping. This conduct was not regulated by any government agency, but only by social norms which were far more permissive in the streets than in the shopping malls.

Benefits of Vendors

One benefit of the street vendors was that they provided affordable alternatives to high-end shops. This was important in a fashion-conscious society. One twenty-six year old woman explained:

> If I only make 1,000 pounds, I'll still go and buy a 200[123] pound blouse [at the mall] because the way you present yourself is important.[124]

Since most people could not afford 200 pounds for one shirt, the city streets provided knock offs and cheap imports at dramatically lower prices, which allowed a much larger segment of the population to dress fashionably. In this way the street vendors made participating in consumer society accessible to more people and increasing the amount of space was devoted to commerce. Vendors also created a lively active atmosphere which sometimes resembled a festival. On weekends, sellers of balloons, toys, and treats intermingled with those selling clothing and accessories. So the net result was that the vendors made the public areas of the city lively, colorful and chaotic (Figure 5.8).

Cabinet Vendors

A second group of vendors sold their merchandise from "cabinets" attached to walls, kiosks or make-shift cupboards. Although they often inhabited the same space as street vendors, cabinet vendors had the assurance of legal standing and a nonmobile

[123] About $180 and $30US in 2011.
[124] Interview December 12, 2010.

space. The "cabinets" ranged from a literal cabinet attached to a wall, to eleven-foot high structures including electric lights and roll down metal security doors (Figures 5.9 & 5.10). The main similarity between all of these types of cabinets was that the vendor and customers inhabited public space such as a street or sidewalk because the cabinet was only deep enough to display the goods. Unlike a proper shop, there was no interior space to enter. Typically, they sold clothing and were located on side streets adjacent to main thoroughfares, especially Saad Zaghloul Street.

One cabinet vendor of approximately sixty years explained how the system of acquiring rights to exterior retail space occurred.

> The Deaf People's Association obtained licenses from the municipality for the wall space in the city. Then they rent out this space because they can't go and sell things themselves [because they are deaf]. This way, they can earn money from the people selling things.[125]

An alternative method of obtaining rights to wall space was explained by a young vendor who owns two "cabinets":

> I own the place here on the corner but I rent this other one [pointed to another kiosk across the alley]. Before me, there was another owner of this shop but he didn't have enough money to buy products so instead of just leaving the space empty, he sold it to get some money. It was him who built out this kiosk. On the wall. He built everything. All of the shelves and the display.
>
> My father knows the owner of this building for twenty-five years so he spoke with the building's owner and they came to an agreement [about renting space for another "shop"]. I am allowed to sell my things from the wall and I have no problem with the police because this is a legitimate shop. I have papers to prove it and papers to show that I pay for electricity. It is just like a regular store.
> But I could not rent that space over there because that wall belongs to another store [Cicurel Department Store] and they don't want [competition].[126]

The largest difference between the street vendors and cabinet vendors was that the latter had rights to sell from a specific space. They had paper work which they obtained

[125] Interview January 6, 2011.
[126] Interview January 6, 2011.

either by negotiating with a building owner for a portion of wall space or through a third party who had obtained rights to these spaces. Although cabinet vendors proudly proclaimed their legitimacy in contrast to street vendors and that they had no problems with police, both types of vendors operated in public space which was bound to be contested. Even with rights to the wall space, cabinet vendors did not have rights to the ground space around their cabinet where they often displayed additional goods. This meant that occasionally, they came in conflict with the municipality over the use of the public space. These cabinet vendors in combination with new *suqs* were making a dramatic effect on the surfaces of the city. They transformed many transit spaces or passive shopping spaces (such as window shopping) into active retail spaces and thus, have intensified the commercial activity in the city center.

Suq Naga

Suq Naga was located in the courtyard of Okelle Menesce, a nineteenth century apartment block facing Mansheiya Plaza. The original design housed twelve large apartments on the upper floors and shops on the ground floor with some shops opening to the courtyard (Volait 2005, 195). The façades of this building were densely populated by shops, several of which expanded beyond their confines and appropriated space from the entrances or passageways as their own. Increasingly over the past two decades (1990s and 2000s), the formerly open courtyard became the site of a crowded clothing market (Figure 5.11). Several of the shops which faced the courtyard extended their space by bringing racks into the courtyard. In one instance, the shop owner did all of his business in the courtyard and only used his shop for storage. Other vendors built storage facilities in the center of the courtyard, and sold from make shift tables which disappeared at night.

These vendors explained that they all had contracts with the Housing and Development Company so they had no problems with police. One vendor who relocated his shop, which imported used European clothing, two years ago, explained that this location was better because it was in the center of the city and more people came there.[127] Since its construction, this space was devoted to retail, but the expansion of selling into permanent structures in the courtyard is relatively recent. Although several vendors report selling from the same space for over a decade, photographs from 2004[128] show no "permanent" structures in the courtyard.

The demographics of the merchants in this *suq* showed more stability than those on Saad Zaghloul Street. Like the street vendors, all of the merchants selling in the courtyard were male, but there were some young women who tended proper shops. Almost all of the men were between thirty and fifty years old and most had been working in this *suq* for ten to twenty years. Like the older street vendors, many were former government workers who found better profit in retailing. The general consensus was that profit was better in the past, but their outlook was more optimistic than those of the ones working on the street. The merchants in the courtyard of Okelle Menesce took advantage of the central location of the existing market and expanded it into available open space thus densifying the retail. This space had the additional advantage that it was an enclosed space away from the street so there was no conflict with the municipality. Other vendors who established themselves on the street behind the Okelle occasionally clash with the police. In this way, the vendors increased the proportion of the center city which was devoted to retail but in a way which was not in conflict with the municipality.

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[127] Interview December 29, 2010.
[128] Philippe Saad, archnet.org, http://archnet.org/library/images/one-image.jsp?location_id=11031&image_id=78787.

Suq Ghurfa Tugarriya

Another example of the expansion of retail is *Suq* Ghurfa Tugarriya[129] (Chamber of Commerce Street Market) which sold primarily men's shoes (Figure 5.12). It was located on a small street parallel to Saad Zaghloul Street. Like *Suq* Naga, it had a combination of proper shops, cabinets and kiosks, but the vendors (who are all male) were typically in their twenties. All of the merchants interviewed from shops were employees but men in kiosks and with cabinets were typically owners. According to the shop keepers, this *suq* was five years old and the kiosks were built at the same time. Before that, there was a coffee shop and a copy shop but selling shoes was more profitable.[130] These kiosks were homemade structures which lined the entire length of the street. They were approximately eleven feet tall and about three feet deep (corresponding with the existing sidewalk). These kiosks ranged from simple structures with a roof overhead, shelves along a back wall and a tarp to cover them at night, to three walled structures with rolling metal doors and elaborate lighted displays. Since night time was prime selling hours, each cabinet had electric lights. The addition of the kiosks and cabinets dramatically changed the character of this street. It was previously a minor street between Saad Zaghloul Street and the Corniche, but was transformed into an outdoor mall. Technically, it was possible for cars to pass on this street but they very rarely did. Unlike Saad Zaghloul Street, it was unburdened by vehicular traffic and became a pedestrian walkway and show room for the shops and kiosks. In this way, the public space of the street which was built for transportation became a retail space.

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[129] I was told by the vendors and shop keepers that the name of this *suq* was Ghurfa Tugarriya, after the nearby Chamber of Commerce building.
[130] Interviews January 4, 2011.

Popularity Amidst Decline

In spite of its "decline," the popularity of the city center was most likely due to the following reasons. First, this area continued its former reputation as the premier shopping district among certain classes and its past association with the upper-class was appealing to today's youth and lower classes. Second, the merchandise appealed to the lower classes because it was affordable and addresses desired styles. Unlike shopping malls, the majority of Alexandria's citizens could afford to make purchases in Mansheiya and Mahatat Ramleh. Third, this area was physically accessible whether or not they had vehicular transport. Mahatata Ramleh was the terminus of the east and west tram lines and the Corniche was frequented by buses, microbuses, taxis and private cars. Additionally, there were no barriers to entry such as doors, gates x-ray machines, or security guards. Anyone was allowed to enter and exit without permission or check point. Ironically, the urban shopping space could also be considered more democratic because it had completely free entry, welcomed the middle and lower classes and allowed for individual expression; but when viewed through the lens of gender the answer becomes more complicated.

Zinqat al-Sittat

One downtown shopping district which defied the label of decline is the Zinqat al-Sittat or Women's Market, but it still suffered from competition like retail elsewhere. Although it has suffered similar degradation of the infrastructure as other parts of downtown, it remained popular and appropriate for middle and upper-class women. The Zinqat al-Sittat began as horse stables for French troops who arrived in 1798. When the French left a few years later, Moroccan merchants appropriated the space and used it for

a market. It was called *Suq* Al-Magharba or the Moroccan's Market[131] and sold tea, spice, oil and *kilim*s. Originally, there were doors which could close off the *suq* at either end but they have since been removed. There were apartments above the *suq* which were divided into individual rooms and housed one family per room. According to Dr. Mustafa Al-Marangouz, a physician whose father owned a shop in the *suq*, the original owners of the *suq* were the descendents of the Moroccan Haj Abdel-Rahman Shaaban. Ownership of the *suq* shifted to Daoud Ades, an Egyptian Jew when Shaaban was unable to pay his debts. After this, the *suq* became primarily Jewish. The Jewish merchants continued to sell the same merchandise and gradually added haberdashery goods and toys. According to Al-Marangouz, in 1956 when Jewish businesses were nationalized and most of the Jews left Egypt, the *suq* came under the ownership of six government organizations and companies. It is these businesses, banks and insurance companies that now charge rent to the shopkeepers (Sakr 1993). This *suq* specialized in women's goods, particularly fabric, buttons, accessories, traditional clothing, lingerie, costume jewelry, cosmetics and scarves and remained a popular place to shop.

In the early 1990s, there were 83 shops which supported about 180 people. Hisham Nofal who ran a shop selling costume jewelry noted that most of his goods were imported from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China because labor was so much less expensive in Asia than Europe. He began working in someone else's shop but two years before this interview he was able to start his own shop. Nofal saw the advantages of the Zinqat as "its inexpensive prices and its friendly merchants, as well as being located right in the city center" (Sakr 1993). Mohamed Rashed, a thirty-eight year old man who had a degree in chemistry abandoned it for the opportunity to work in the family business selling fabric

[131] A sign designating the Zinqat as *Suq* Al-Magharba still remains at the western entrance to the *suq*.

because he preferred this type of work to an "official" job. "He still remembers the Zanqa as it was in the old days when he used to come to his father's shop. The alleys were wider and the *suq* was very clean but as the real estate dealers moved in, the alleys got narrower and every available space was built on" (Sakr 1993). Mohamed Milad, a fifty-five year old souvenir seller, who also had a degree in chemistry, believed the Zinqat provides an important source of income for government employees who need to supplement their salaries. On the other hand, Mamdouh Abdel-Fattah who owned a haberdashery shop would prefer to work elsewhere. He found the taxes too high and felt he could make more profit in another location but did not have the opportunity to move. Working in the Zinqat was part of the identity for most of the merchants and an important source of income for the people who worked there (Sakr 1993).

In the 1993, shopkeepers and the *suq* owners came into conflict over the possible selling of the space. There were rumors that the owners planned to develop the land into a more profitable use. Merchants felt frustrated because many of their shops had been selling from the same location for eighty years and some felt that the decision to repurpose the site was done without their input. The Al-Ahliya Insurance Company, one of the owners claimed that there are no plans destroy the *suq*, only to remodel it. The merchants worried about where they would conduct their business during the construction process and the inevitable higher rents (Sakr 1993). Although the possible remodeling or demolition of the *suq* was big news in 1993, this attempt to change the space has been completely forgotten and no informants recalled this occurrence.

A thirty-seven year old merchant, who sold jewelry and accessories and who had been working in the *suq* for twenty-eight years, explained the history of the *suq* and how business works.

> Before, this *suq* used to be stables. Most of the people working here used to be Jewish Moroccans. It was a *Wakala* and had one floor. None of that building is left. In 1936 this *suq* was built and it has been remodeled over and over. It is not the same shape it was in before. The stables had barrel vaults. One side was for the horses and the other side for their food. Everything of that is gone. All of it is new now. In the past the goods were more like Khan al-Khalili: carpets, kilms, antiques. The *suq* changed to a women's *suq* after the 1960s. Most of the stuff was imported. In the '70s more of the goods were imported and there were more goods. In the past it was just Egyptian goods. The importing of goods started with Sadat. We used to sell for shops [wholesaling] and now we sell less for individuals [retail] but there is more business in wholesaling. Most shops around town buy from the Zinqat. They sell fashion, both higher and lower. Everyone shops here – rich women and poor women. There are men who shop here but very few. When a man enters the *suq* we ask him why he is here in the Zinqat. All men hate shopping. Ten years ago we used to sell less but with more profit. Now we sell more but with less profit. I think the *suq* will get worse in the future because individuals are buying less. Because people are going to the North Coast [instead of vacationing in Alexandria], less are coming to Alexandria to shop so we are losing a lot of rich shoppers.[132]

A forty-eight year old man who sold female accessories described his recollection of the *suq*'s history and how business works.

> The Zinqat has been opened since Mohamed Ali. Then it was closed. It was a Moroccan *suq*. They sold Moroccan clothes in the past. The Jews came after the Moroccans and they began selling accessories. You can still find the old clothes for women in Egypt, the black ones. Some shops still sell these clothes. Then the Egyptians started to buy the shops from the Jews. First they sold Egyptian products then imported after Sadat. There were many years of selling Egyptian goods. Then the people were going abroad to shop. This was until the Chinese "invasion" in 1990. I have an office in China. "To open the tape and find Chinese goods" is a proverb. Some companies were owned by the Egyptian government and then privatized. Like Omar Effendi and Hannaux. Some of the Hannaux stores are called Gag. Hannaux[133] is now private as are all other companies except for transportation…The Zinqat is owned by Bank Masr, Insurance Company and Awqaf. I pay rent to Bank Masr and Insurance Company. The two companies happened after Nasr. I have worked here in the *suq* for thirty-six years since I was

[132] Interview December 29, 2010.
[133] In 2010, Hannaux was still government owned.

> twelve years old. The shop is from before my time. I used to be the owner of another shop, but brought this one thirteen years ago. I worked in the Zinqat since I was a boy. The goods have changed in the past twenty years. In the summer we sell more. People were coming more in the past. Goods used to be cheaper in the past but there was more profit. Because more people are selling things, people who used to buy are now owners. People used to work for the government but now they make their own business.[134]

A sixty-eight year old man who had been working in the *suq* for 55 years explained the challenges facing merchants:

> I used to cut metal but having a store is better. In the past the goods were very cheap. For example ten eggs cost 1 piastre but now they cost 70 piastres. I have been working here since I was thirteen, in my father's shop. It has always sold handbags. In Sadat's time it was perfect. Everything was cheap. Now there are no people to buy things. Although it is the holiday season [just before Coptic Christmas] no one is buying. Electricity bills are higher and goods are more expensive. For example I use a glue called Kola glue. It was 16 pounds but now it is 24 pounds. This change has happened this year.[135]

When asked if owning a shop was so unprofitable why people were continuing to open new ones, he explained:

> If people have some money, they open a shop. It is better than spending the money. When they want to close it, they will sell it and take the money. This hurts all businesses. The price of goods is not stable. A purse may be 20 pounds here but eighteen in another shop. Customers look for the cheapest goods. It is like a competition. Here all youth want to go to the U.S. From 10am, I have only sold 40 pounds until now [it was well after dark by this time]. Shoppers compare prices. They decide where to buy. Women buy retail and men buy for wholesale.

A very old man who has worked in a shop for sixty years described his memories of the *suq*:

> This shop has been here for sixty years. Originally this place was for Moroccan people. I bought the place sixty years ago. I have a factory where I made Egyptian dresses [traditional dresses with machine made embroidery]. All made in Egypt. One hundred percent cotton. Egyptian women buy to wear at home. Foreigners buy for themselves for souvenirs. There are two streets to the Zinqat al-Sittat. This street is also called Thread Street. When the Zinqat was stables, this street

[134] Interview December 29, 2010.
[135] Interview December 29, 2010.

> was shops. On Nasr Street in 1954 shops opened. Midan Street[136] is named Mohmoud Fahin Rashy Pasha after the Prime Minister was killed in 1948…All this *suq* was *al-khayt* [tailors]. Midan street used to sell nuts. They also sold *amr din*- dried apricots which are made into a drink. They would sell it in sheets, by the meter. It was hung up like clothing. This was in the 1950s. It stopped after the revolution. Business is not better now. There are too many other *suqs*. Retail was better in the past. Now it is the same with women. No one used to travel to buy things but now they travel to shop.[137]

Although shop keepers in the Zinqat al-Sittat consistently expressed disappointment at the reduction in their incomes and that the *suq* was not a major draw for shoppers, women from all classes continued find coming there a pleasant pastime (Figure 5.12). Upper-middle and upper-class women interviewed admitted that they enjoy visiting the Zinqat as someplace different and generally view shopping at the market as a quaint activity and for certain merchandise, the *suq* was preferable. Older upper-class women recommended that I only buy jewelry in the Zinqat.[138] The prices and the quality were better they said. When I asked if the prices and quality were so good in the *suqs*, why anyone would buy jewelry in the malls, there was never a clear answer but they implied it was only people who did not know better. For the same class of women in their thirties and forties, the *suq* district was also considered an acceptable place to shop, especially for jewelry and linens. Younger women of this class were more likely to view *suq* district and the women's *suq* in particular as fun quirky place to shop. One upper-middle class woman recounted a story about how she went shopping for a belly dance costume in the Zinqat. For her, shopping in the *suq* was not part of shopping for regular life but for a special occasion like a party.[139] The women interviewed from the upper-

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[136] Midan Street is roughly parallel to the Women's *Suq* and contains an extremely large food market.
[137] Interview December 29, 2010.
[138] Technically the Silver *Suq* was adjacent to the Women's *Suq* (Zinqat al-Sittat) but these and other *suq*s were part of the *Suq* District and the boundaries between the different *suq*s were indistinguishable.
[139] Interview, December 12, 2010.

middle and upper classes agreed that the women's *suq* (and often including the entire *suq* district) was an acceptable place to shop even with the degraded infrastructure, but was not their main shopping location.

Class and Differing View of "Decline"

Interestingly, the same elite women who found the *suqs* acceptable, made fun of the small malls and did not consider them worthy of patronizing. Most of the women thought highly of the international-style malls and saw them as significantly different from the small malls. (The women who did not think highly of international-style malls felt that malls in general were a place where young people wasted time and could get into trouble). In general, they derided the small malls because they did not have sufficient amenities and they felt the small malls would soon go out of business. The derision of the small malls in contrast to the acceptance of the *suqs* is interesting because the small malls were more separated from the city at large, more secure (having security guards), more comfortable (having air conditioning and bathrooms), and better maintained than the *suq* district.

Based on four types of retail, *suqs*, urban shopping streets, small malls, and international-style malls, it appeared that for upper-middle and upper-class women, the status of each was not based on the actual conditions of the spaces, but in their relationship to modernity. The urban shopping street which was fondly remembered as a modern cosmopolitan space, lost status due to deterioration and popularization but mostly because it could not compare to the modernity found in the malls. The small malls, which at first were elite, were "disgraced" when they were supplanted by the international-style malls that were even more modern. In contrast, the *suqs*, which suffered similar

degradation as the urban shopping street, were never considered modern, so they never became passé and remained an appropriate setting for upper-middle and upper-class women.

Consequently, the popular trajectory of the retail core did not mean the death of this area but a readjustment and loss of status. For lower-middle class people, the shopping street continued to be a desirable place to shop and spend leisure time regardless of the architectural deterioration which so vexed urbanists and the upper-middle and upper classes. As upwardly mobile spaces were created elsewhere, the former center of commerce lost upscale shops and department stores, which had already lost status, were supplanted by shopping malls. In the void created by this exodus, lower class shops moved in and actually increased the intensity of retail in this area. The proliferation of second-rate stores and the physical deterioration of buildings helped cement the new reputation as a district in decline for the upper-classes but the lower-middle class overlooked these defects and embraced these spaces.

Traditional / Idealized Space

The third conception of space in Alexandria is based less on reality than on idealized ideas about tradition. The oft repeated adage about "Islamic planning" states that public space is for men while private or the home is reserved for women.

> The Islamic principle of house privacy is an affiliation of the principle that calls a Muslim to separate his or her secluded private life from public intercourse. Meanwhile, it is a part of the Islamic system of sex segregation. As this system aims to protect the family and close those avenues that lead toward the prohibited illicit sex or even indiscriminate contact between sexes in society (Mortada 2003, 95-96).

This principle comes from the thirty-third Sura in the Qur'an which states,

> And stay quietly in your houses, and make not a dazzling display, like that of the former Times of Ignorance; and establish regular Prayer, and give regular Charity; and obey Allah and His Messenger. And Allah only wishes to remove all abomination from you, ye members of the Family, and to make you pure and spotless (Qur'an, Su. 33.33) (Ali 1938).

This has been interpreted as a list of responsibilities for women: to "concentrate her activities and presence at home and on the family and on all that is required to protect and develop these institutions" (Mortada 2003, 96). Furthermore, the physical, psychological and biological differences between men and women make men more suitable for work outside of the home. This gender separation not only limited opportunities for unauthorized sexual encounters for women but also "greatly contributes to the stability of society" (Mortada 2003, 96). In fact, Ibn al-Hajj (b. 1336), stated that "'a woman should leave her house on three occasions only: when she is conducted to the house of her bridegroom, on the deaths of her parents, and when she goes to her own grave'" (Hourani 1991, 120). But this level of seclusion was never widely practiced.

The idealized gendered division of space was not a cultural constant whose twentieth century ideals could be projected backwards on to history and Islam. In fact, only the most elite women have ever been able afford to live in an idealized segregated world. Also, the creation of secluded lifestyle required the intervention of myriads of other women who did not live in seclusion. For example, the Cairo Geniza documents record examples of women personally appearing in court, traveling overseas, and engaged in a wide range of professions would not have been possible to remain secluded (Goitein 1967). Much of the codification of male and female space developed in the nineteenth century as the Egyptian state began to exercise greater control over the lives of its subjects with the intention of ameliorating their lives. Judith Tucker notes,

> The rapid expansion of the public sphere under the aegis of a growing state apparatus took its toll on women. As the State began to provide, if only in a tentative and partial fashion, for the health and education of its population, it established patterns of sexual discrimination that were to long endure. The particular nature of the colonial state, its imposition of institutions controlled by foreigners and ideologies alien to local custom, further worked to marginalize women (Tucker 2002, 195).

As the state appropriated more control over social issues, which had previously been administered by guilds, neighborhoods and families, and attempted to modernize the country, the *ulama* with the support of Mohammad Ali, attempted to institute the utopian ideal of gender segregation.

> Regardless of the actual content of dominant ideology *vis-à-vis* women, the greater probability of conscious appeal to religious precepts could result in tighter social control, particularly within the family. Secondly, the size and diversity of the city could act to make such control a more crucial requirement of family life; contacts with strangers and associations that transcended family boundaries potentially imperiled the family's monopoly over regulation of its members' behavior. One possible response would be closer and more diligent attention to the task of social regulation, often at the expense of women (Tucker 2002, 105).

In attempts to modernize the country as well as maintain the unity of the family, public spatial divisions became codified and public space, meaning places where one expected to meet with strangers and a variety of people, became male while the house and household became female.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, conflict arising from the marriage of the utopian gendered ideal of space and modern life was heightened. Just as it had been in the past, for most women, remaining secluded in their homes was neither practical nor desirable, and women were becoming increasingly involved in the workforce and education. In Alexandria in 2010, officially 19.4% of the workforce was female (this did not include women who worked in the informal sector and did not consider themselves employed) (CAPMAS, ELF - S&G 2010) and women comprised 54% of Alexandria's

public university students (CAPMAS, ESGUS 2010). These women were economically active in a range of sectors, and had the highest representation in the following industries: Health & Social Service (56.6%), Education (46.6%), Home Services (30%), Agriculture (29.7%), Finance & Insurance (25.5%) and Public Administration (23.7%) (CAPMAS, EEP - BS&EA 2010). Thus, in deference to this ideal and in order to maintain honor, coping strategies needed to be employed.

One coping strategy is wearing the headscarf. In the Middle East, women began veiling in the 1970s and 1980s as a way to assert their independence in the face of increasingly mixed gender lifestyles (Hourani 1991, 442). By covering themselves they personally reaffirmed their commitment to Islam and its moral principles and separated themselves at least in a symbolic way from the public world. Abdulkader Tayob explains that

> The headscarf symbolizes neither the expected modesty nor the suppression of women. It is a bold Islamic reformist commitment to return to the pure teachings of Islam in order to make a difference in public life. And yet, wearing the headscarf is also a clear rejection of the modernist position that assumes an emphasis on Islamic values rather than forms, allowing the latter to change (Tayob 2009, 278).

The next chapter will discuss how upwardly mobile retail space created another coping strategy for women to be both modern and respectable.

Conclusion

The tradition states that space is considered to be divided into a male/public and a female/private sphere. This conception of space manifests itself in three relevant postulates: domestic space belongs to women while public space is reserved for men; men and women mixing should be avoided to preserve morality and family honor; and

female social life is welcome as long as it occurs outside of public view. This idealized conception of gendered space was a utopian, ideological movement which did not reflect a real historical past. Neither was it possible nor desirable for almost all women in modern Alexandria, but because these ideas were associated with honor and status, they colored concepts of gendered space, even within the contemporary city.

The perceived trajectory of the status of space: upwardly- and limited-mobile also colored the gendering of space and will be discussed in the next chapters. In Alexandria, the shopping mall was a desirable location because it created a space which felt separated from the outside world and surrounded the visitor in an upscale environment, thus reinforcing status and morality. The space was perceived as a place which was secure, exclusive, upwardly mobile, and blurred the line between public and private space. Frequently, Western critiques about shopping malls seek to expose the false public nature of mall space, but in Alexandria, the private nature of malls was exactly what made them so popular, especially for women. In essence, malls became an extension of the home, where women went to reinforce their status, to manage their households thought shopping, and to socialize appropriately. Thus, malls provided opportunities for women to participate in modern consumer society without being subject to the degradation found in the street.

Street shopping on the other hand had an entirely different trajectory. The shops, department stores, markets, "cabinet vendors" and street peddlers inhabited a space whose infrastructure was in the process of degrading. Unlike the American suburbanization phenomenon, the retail districts of Alexandria did not vacate or become abandoned. Instead, there was an increase in the number of retail establishments as more

shops and vendors inhabited the same space and alternatives to malls remained extremely popular. Even with impoverishment of a majority of the population retail entrepreneurs found ways to bring consumerism to the masses. Thus, to the upwardly mobile, the retail space outside of malls was increasing in fragmentation, deterioration, and chaos; or entropy, but to the majority of the population, it was becoming more accessible and affordable.

Figure 5.1 - San Stefano Mall and hotel with apartment blocks in the background (2010).

Figure 5.2 - Falaky Mall in contrast to nineteenth century buildings downtown. The mall is located behind the large multistory graphic. Bright blue glass panels clad the upper portion of the building (2010).

Figure 5.3 - Mena Mall north façade showing air-conditioner units (2010).

Figure 5.4 - Typical sidewalk damage on Saad Zaghloul Street (2010).

Figure 5.5 - Discordant shopfront façades on Saad Zaghloul Street (2010).

Figure 5.6 - Front façade of Menasce with shops infringing on entrance (2010).

Figure 5.7 - Back façade of Menasce showing destruction of architectural elements from pipes (2010).

Figure 5.8 - Street vendors near Mansheiya Plaza (2010).

Figure 5.9 - Cabinet vendors in *Suq* Ghurfa Tugarriya. Note the white cabinet at the far left of the photo which was not yet open when this photo was taken (2011).

Figure 5.10 - *Suq* Ghurfa Tugarriya. Kiosks built on sidewalks with lighting and rolling doors (2010).

Figure 5.11 - *Suq* Naga with "permanent" structures to store merchandise shown behind the front rack of clothing (2010).

Figure 5.12 - Entrance to Zinqat al-Sittat (Women's Market) literally, Women's Squeeze due to the restricted spaces. This entrance is less than three feet wide and is further restricted in the background where patrons must also duck to avoid hitting hanging merchandise (2010).

Table 5.1 - Income Distribution by Percentage Share, Egypt, 2008.

Segment of the Population	Percent of Income
Highest 10%	26.6%
Highest 20%	40.3%
Second 20%	13.0%
Third 20%	16.4%
Forth 20%	21.0%
Lowest 20%	9.2%
Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators and Global Development Finance, 2012	

Table 5.2 – Gender of Sales Staff in Alexandrian Malls.

Gender of Workers	Green Plaza	City Centre	San Stefano	Mena	Zahran	Wataneiya	Falaky	Total
Total female workers	81	116	107	58	30	31	32	455
Total male workers	170	176	214	54	47	26	24	711
Total	251	292	321	112	77	57	56	1166
Percent female	32.27	39.73	33.33	51.79	38.96	54.39	57.14	39.02

Table 5.3 – Ratio of Male to Female Merchandise in Shops at Malls.

Type of merchandise	Zahran	City Centre	San Stefano	Mena	Green Plaza	Watanieya	Falaky
Shops selling gendered goods	69%	79%	65%	81%	80%	89%	82%
Exclusively female goods	31%	40%	39%	54%	59%	63%	74%
Exclusively male goods	20%	13%	10%	19%	16%	9%	8%
Both male & female goods	17%	26%	16%	8%	10%	11%	0%
Ratio of male to female goods	1.3	1.7	2.1	2.3	3.1	3.7	9.3

CHAPTER 6

EXCLUSIVITY, MODERNITY, AND GENDER IN SHOPPING MALLS

The shopping malls were conceived of as modern, "elevating," and respectable, but these definitions varied depending on the group of people. The desirable modern aspects of the mall were evaluated differently by the upper-middle and upper class than by the lower-middle class. Similarly, working in a mall had different implications for the lower-middle class than for the upper-middle and upper class. This chapter will show how exclusivity and modernity were the most important factors for creating respectable women's space and these factors were appropriated by the middle- and lower-middle class to form their own appropriate spaces.

Creating a Modern Space

As expected, the goals of the creators of high-end shopping space were to meet the expectations of the upper-middle and upper-class population. In the previous chapter, most mall managers listed "class A" customers as their target market. Even malls which were clearly not elite hoped for "class A" customers even while they declared themselves solidly "class B" malls. This desire cannot be considered entirely an economic decision

since portions of the limited-mobility middle class made more money than portions of the upwardly mobile class and the nonelite population was substantially more numerous in Alexandria. Instead, there was prestige in catering to the higher segments of society. This attitude was also evidenced by the mall managers' exaggeration of their mall's status that included fine gradations of their customer base (such as B- so that they would not have to admit to catering to class C customers or claiming they used to attract A+ customers so as to outdo other malls reaching out to class A). In addition to the higher-end architecture and brand named stores, malls showcased their modernity through Western dress, the inclusion of women, the use of foreign languages and polite behavior with women.

The standard clothing at the international-style malls, even for San Stefano, which was accessible to the lower-middle class and lower-class population, was Egyptian-ized Western. Men over thirty were typically more dressed up than their American counterparts and usually wore slacks and shirt or sweater. Younger men were more often found wearing jeans, but no men wore shorts. Also flip flops, a clear marker of the lower class, were never worn by mall patrons (but occasionally by cleaning/maintenance staff). Women also dressed up to visit the malls and typically were covered to their wrists and ankles, although short sleeved shirts were occasionally seen (usually on Christian women). Almost every Muslim woman wore the *hijab*, and in the Egyptian style which was wrapped tightly around the face and pinned to stay securely in place. This was in contrast with upper middle-class and upper-class patrons of Gulf malls where the men often dressed in traditional *thawb*s and *kefiyyeh*s and women wore *abaya*s and elaborate headscarves. In small malls, (older) women were more likely to wear traditional Egyptian dresses, but they mostly wore Western clothing. In fact, Western style clothing was so

ubiquitous in the malls that in all of my visits, I only observed one person wearing a *galabeya*, the traditional Egyptian male clothing associated with farmers (and occasionally worn to pray in the mosque by parts of the urban population).

To create a modern space, including women was a key component. In Alexandria at large, men constituted a majority of the public population in contrast with European, American and East Asian urban spaces where women were very visible. For example, in 2010, American malls averaged 66% female customers while in the international-style malls in Alexandria the ratio was reversed and men comprised 63% of the patrons (Table 6.1) (Lambert and Connolly 2011). Koning notes that "the presence of women in public leisure spaces has been a major marker of cosmopolitan or 'westernized' elite practices" (Koning 2009, 137). Yet in Alexandria, the consumer/leisure spaces with the highest percentage of women were not the international-style malls, but the small malls and this anomaly will be discussed below.

Another way in which malls emphasized modernity was through knowledge and appreciation of foreign ideas and languages (usually English). For example, 64% of the shops and services at the international-style malls had foreign names; nearly half of all spaces had English names and many of the sales staff spoke English (Table 6.2). In comparison, only a quarter of the shops on Saad Zaghloul Street boasted foreign names. Through the use of foreign languages, shops and workers emphasized their ties to the global consumerist community and modernity.

Creating a(n Upper-class) Female Space

Peterson noted that young upper-class Egyptian women preferred to spend leisure time in spaces which were closed and excluded a large segment of the population where

women spent time talking. Within these spaces, the presence of women was a normal part of the (Egyptian) cosmopolitan lifestyle and thus, men's proper behavior with women (not harassing, hassling, or staring) was a marker of upper-class male status. Peterson described the behavior of one of his students whose behavior reaffirmed his status and international orientation. "[He] knows how to comport himself in a coffee shop because he's been to them in Europe and the United States" (Peterson 2011). Yet this same class of men participated in crude and vulgar behavior when inhabiting masculine spaces such as the traditional *ahwa*. As discussed in Chapter 3, the most pressing concern about public life for upper-class women was the effects of the gaze, particularly the gaze of lower-class men which could "pollute" a woman and sully her reputation. To a lesser extent, the gaze affected both men and women of the upwardly mobile middle class, through moral judgments about the modern lifestyles they hoped to engage in (Peterson 2011).

> Class and gender are thus mutually constructed. Mixed-gender socializing is an important part of the cosmopolitan style that serves as social capital for Cairene elites, yet it poses a particular problem for women, for whom participation in leisure activities with men risks a loss of their reputation as decent (*mu'adab*). The wealth of the professional classes allows them access to commodified spaces like exclusive malls and coffee shops where class and gender identities can be performed before selected audiences of peers (Peterson 2011).

Similarly in Alexandria, upper- and upper-middle class people enjoyed modern consumerist spaces not only for their luxurious surroundings, but also as ways to reaffirm their status by being comfortable with gender mixing.

Barriers for Lower Class Patrons

As discussed in Chapter 4, none of the mall managers admitted to excluding people based on appearance like what was reported in Cairo, but the distinct lack of visible lower-class patrons implied that they were being excluded (Abaza 2006; Peterson 2011). First, there were security guards with x-ray machines and metal detectors at a few of the malls. This may have been too intimidating for lower class people. (It is unknown whether or not poorly dressed people were actually turned away as "security risks"). Second, many of the malls were located in the suburbs and difficult to reach without private cars, this was especially true of City Centre Mall. Third, the poor economic conditions of the lower class necessitated time spent working rather than strolling in shopping malls. Furthermore, even if all of these conditions were met, lower-class people (young men especially) were at a disadvantage because they were not accustomed to inhabiting mixed-gender spaces and did not always act appropriately. In Chapter 4, Karim, the manager of Green Plaza Mall noted that when the mall first opened, there was much more inappropriate behavior but people learned how to act "correctly" and the behavior improved substantially. As people began adapting to the upper-class behavioral expectations, security personnel did not have to enforce the behavior as often. This implies that one of two things occurred. Either the people with inappropriate (lower-class) behavior stopped coming to the mall, or they learned to put on a "disguise" and assimilate upper-class behavior while in the mall. Thus, it appears that in Alexandria, the real requirement for participating at shopping malls was behavior which did not offend the upper-class, particularly with regards to mixed-gender environments.

How to Get a Reputation

> There are many public spaces that women of the upper-classes are taught to avoid from childhood; many of my female students at AUC had never been on the subway, never ridden a bus, never taken a train – not even in a first class compartment. Indeed, these activities are transgressive acts for most upper-class Egyptian women seeking to be *mu'dab* [*sic*] because they involve a mixing with working-class people that is itself compromising to morals and honor (Peterson 2011).

There were two distinct types of bad reputations for women based on class. For upper-class, the polluting element was not gender mixing in general but mingling with the lower classes, especially lower-class men. For the lower class and much of the middle class, women's reputations were damaged by suspicions about her morality such as dating, mixing with men, using course language, smoking, and anything else which might suggest sexual promiscuity (Peterson 2011). While these same factors could affect upper-class women's reputations, the upper-class women had more freedom to engage in such activities as long as they were done away from the lower classes. Upwardly mobile middle-class women had to negotiate between the freedom/requirements of the upper-class cosmopolitan lifestyle based on separation from "lower people" and the requirements of respectability among the middle class for stricter segregation by gender.

A personal experience highlighted the difference between the middle and upper-classes. I was invited to a party in an exclusive new gated-community in the suburbs of Cairo. The five-bedroom luxury villa was owned by a single young man in his thirties who used it for parties including his friends and some foreigners (Turks, Americans, and Russians) who were of a similar class. The group was well educated, many with advanced degrees from Europe and the U.S., everyone spoke English fluently, and most worked in high-power jobs that not only required education but also connections to

obtain. The party included a DJ and dancing (with men and women together) similar to parties in the U.S. and some alcohol which was kept discretely in a cooler in the back yard (the amount of alcohol was significantly less than at a similar party in the U.S.). Among this group there was a certain amount of dating couples (some of whom had slept with each other) but less than would be expected in the American context. The greatest drama of this party occurred when one man, who had not been invited but was a friend of a friend had drunk too much alcohol and vomited in the street. There was a frenzy of activity to clean up the "overdose" so as not to invite shame from the neighbors. While the group had no problem with some of the members drinking alcohol (even when some of those people were Muslim), dancing and dating, bringing these activities into the street (gated as it was), invited shame and reproach.

After returning to Alexandria, which was more conservative than Cairo, I asked several upwardly mobile middle-class friends about the contextual meaning of this party. These friends were practicing Muslims who had previously discussed the effects of a bad reputation on a woman's chances for a good marriage. Specifically, I asked how women of this group could get married if they had been dating and in some cases having sex. It was agreed that these were people of a different social class (meaning higher) and the rules were different for them. They generally married among themselves so they did not have to concern themselves with the morals of "regular people."[140]

Interestingly, one member of this group had previously defined the relationship between morals:

[140] Interview January 8, 2011.

> There is no difference between high morals and high class. High class means good morals otherwise they would be low class…but a person who is rich but lazy, he's *faafy*.[141]

In his mind, being of a higher class meant having higher morals (with the exception of groups like the one mentioned above). Many of the middle-class informants connected morals and class. In conversation they accused lower-class people of debasing the streets and being immoral. In their eyes, the lower-class men sullied a(n higher-class) women's reputation through vulgar comments, actions, and the threat of harm. He sexualized the environment, and thus contaminated her. It was possible for women to interact with high-class (meaning upwardly mobile) men because they supposedly had higher morals, as evidenced by not speaking or acting crudely around women. These middle-class informants also saw lower-class women as having lower moral standards, meaning being sexually promiscuous. The paradox was that the people in general considered the lower-classes to be more religious to have strict codes of behavior, especially when it came to gender segregation, and the highest class was seen to participate in more liberal sexual behavior. This was completely at odds with the positive correlation between morals and class. Similarly, Peterson found that lower-middle class people often saw the upper-class as corrupt and immoral. "Elite appropriations of global modernity are popularly associated with immodesty for women, and sometimes with effeminacy for men" (Peterson 2011). Thus, it appears that the idea of higher class behavior was associated with and justified by good moral behavior, but the real issue was to keep separate from the lower classes in order to maintain a good reputation.

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[141] Interview, December 16, 2010. *Faafy* or *foffy* means rich and spoiled, someone who has lived a luxurious life and so is not as tough as people who have had a more challenging life.

The upwardly mobile middle class was defined by its embracing of the upper-class internationally-oriented lifestyle but they were also limited by the moral confines of the nonelites. Lower- and middle-class women could get a "reputation" for engaging in the same activities that were permissible for the upper-class behind closed doors. An upper-middle class Muslim man explained what kinds of gender mixing were permissible within his class and what could lead to a bad reputation:

> A young woman can get a bad reputation by having a boyfriend and chilling out with him in public, smoking cigarettes and *shisha*, wearing clothes "against our customs and traditions[142]," or returning home very late. If girls are with a group of boys from college, it is no problem and this is accepted if they hang out together – or even if they go on a one-day trip to Cairo for example. But according to our customs and traditions, it is very strange if a girl accepts to talk to a boy on the street while she does not know him at all. If I just ask a girl about "what time is it, please" this is accepted, or to ask about an address.
>
> If she has a boyfriend and they are kissing and holding hands, this is very bad. A girl with a bad reputation hardly gets married to a man who lives in the same region and knows her well. Maybe she gets married to someone who has no idea about her reputation. If there is a very good girl who has a very bad father, she will hardly get married due to the bad reputation of her father.[143]

According to this informant, gender mixing for educational purposes (which would increase one's social standing) was permissible, but dating, and especially mixing with random (unfamiliar and possibly lower-class) men tarnished a reputation.

As discussed in Chapter 5, working in retail, even high-end retail, could tarnish a woman's reputation. The woman interviewed in Chapter 5 who rose from working security, to sales, and eventually achieved a job as a receptionist obviously had family connections which helped her get the jobs and rise to a higher position. For her, working in security was debasing. Working as a sales clerk was more acceptable, but she was not content until she got a job working with the management in a white collar job. Even

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[142] Meaning immodest and/or not wearing the *hijab*.
[143] Interview, January 17, 2012.

though her job as a receptionist was the lowest job in the office, she was happy to be part of the upwardly mobile workforce. Although working in a mall was better than on the street, the job of sales clerk imbued a "certain reputation." No matter how prestigious of a store a woman worked in, she would never be part of the same class as the people who shopped there. One example was the upper-middle class man interviewed in Chapter 5 who was horrified at the thought of a female family member working as a shop clerk, even in one of the high-end malls. In his mind, obtaining a college degree was one way to help assure that a woman would not have to take a demeaning job like shop keeping. He recognized that for people of lower status, working in a high-end mall was preferable and imbued more status than a downtown store, but even then, he still felt it was a (lower-class) job. The relative position of workers and patrons was clarified by Ihab El-Khodairy, the manager of Mena Mall. Mena was one of the small malls but El-Khodairy explained that it catered to all classes, but not upper-class, he said as an aside. When asked to be more specific he said that most of the patrons were middle class and lower-middle class. The sales staff came from slightly lower classes than the patrons.[144] For the shop workers, working in a mall meant an increase in status over work in a street shop, but for the upwardly middle class woman, working in any shop was considered beneath her.

Lower- and middle-class women who did not have the luxury of passing time in cosmopolitan spaces had to assure their reputations through respectable behavior which meant dressing modestly, not flirting with men, and not mixing inappropriately with men. For them, the cautions against gender mixing were especially important to reinforcing their high character.

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[144] Interview, El-Khodairy, March 13, 2010.

Gender Mixing

Gender mixing was considered a sign of both a modern lifestyle and of impropriety, but this begs the question, how much gender mixing occurred in shopping malls? Some informants said that all shops were mixed in malls, while others said that street shops were not segregated by gender. Some emphasized malls as a place where young people flirted with each other while others said it was a safe place for women to not be hassled by men. My research examined three aspects of gender mixing: merchandise, shoppers, and workers.

Based on the number of shops for men, women, and for both, Saad Zaghloul Street was more gender integrated than the shopping malls. This meant that the malls began a trend of more gender segregation rather than less. Nearly one-quarter of the street shops sold merchandise to both genders while in the international-style malls, only 15% were mixed. This number dropped significantly for small malls where less than 5% contained men's and women's goods. In some malls, such as Falaky, there were no mixed shops at all. In both small malls and international-style malls, a majority of the shops sold merchandise for women (67% and 60%, respectively) (Table 6.2). Not only did malls decrease the percentage of gender-mixed shops, but also increased the number of women's shops. The percentage of woman's goods was higher in the malls (64%) than on the shopping street (55%), but the most significant difference was in the percentage of single gender shops (Table 6.2). On the shopping street, nearly one-quarter of the shops sold only male goods compared with less than one-sixth in either type of mall. For exclusively female shops, the variance was even greater. In small malls, nearly two-thirds of the shops only sold women's goods compared with just less than half for the

international-style malls and nearly one-third for Saad Zaghloul Street. The shops selling to both men and women followed the same trend with small malls having the fewest dual-gender shops (some small malls had no mixed shops) and the street having the most. From this, it appears that malls were not only less gender integrated but also more female-oriented as the proportion of men's shops was less in malls than on the urban shopping street.

In examining gender integration of the store clerks, there were several factors to compare. First, in terms of raw numbers, international-style malls employed the largest amount of female shopkeepers, but in terms of percentage of the whole, women were nearly equally represented in the most exclusive malls as on Saad Zaghloul Street (35%) (Table 6.3). In contrast, a majority of the shop workers were female in the small malls (54%). Also in small malls, men and women were less likely to work together (Table 6.4). Another form of gender-mixing was found in the relationship between the gender of the shop workers and of the merchandise. In the malls, and especially in the small malls (47%), the gender of the merchandise was more likely to match the gender of the workers than on the street (30%). According to this data, the modern international-style malls were neither the most gender integrated nor the least. Being the most integrated would have reinforced their modern global status, but having some single-gender shops, especially for women could have also been seen as progressive and female-friendly. These aspects will be discussed below.

The third form of gender integration was with the patrons. Many informants (especially those over forty) and other researchers have discussed how shopping malls were primarily used as spaces where young people flirt with one another, but single

gender socializing remained the norm. Among all malls, 84% of the groups of visitors were either all male or all female. Of the others, 12% of the groups contained male-female pairs[145] (Appendix A). Only 4% of the groups of shopping mall customers were gender-mixed groups. At small malls, a majority of the patrons were women while at international-style malls women only represented 36-40% of the shoppers. International-style malls did show a higher incidence of male-female couples and mixed gender groups than the small malls or Saad Zaghloul Street.

The shops in shopping malls, in general, were less gender integrated than the shops on Saad Zaghloul Street in terms of both merchandise and workers. In most regards the malls could not actually claim modernity through gender-integration. The only modern (i.e., Western) form of gender mixing that occurred more often in malls, and especially international-style malls was the presence of more male-female couples. This implies that the mall environment was more tolerant of gender-mixing in the form of couples, but not necessarily mixing in general. Instead, malls demonstrated their modernity through the inclusion of women and sensitivity to women's preferences which set malls apart from the older forms of retail. Ironically, the modern shopping malls promoted special spaces for women while in the older types of retail (street shops, vendors, and *suq*s) men intruded on women's space more often. In malls, women had the modern luxury of shopping in stores selling only women's clothing with only female shop clerks so as to not require interaction with men - similar to what was common in some shops in Western countries. For Saudi women, it took royal intervention and several years to be free from the embarrassment and discomfort of buying lingerie from

[145] It is unknown whether these couples were married or dating.

men. Yet for Alexandrians, the expansion of consumerism and the introduction of the shopping mall provided women with more modern segregated spaces.

Female Friendly Spaces in Small Malls

Thus far, I have argued that shopping malls were female-friendly spaces because of their associations with the upper-class and the international world. They were also appreciated as a place of perceived social mobility and an exclusive space that allowed women to reinforce their social mobility by being separated from the masses. Yet the small malls, which ceased to be embraced by the upper-class when more luxurious malls were built or which were built later to inferior standards, were actually more inclusive of women. They had higher percentages of stores for women, of female workers, of patrons, and more spaces without men. I argue that while shopping in the most luxurious and modern spaces was important for upwardly mobile women, the exclusive rather than the luxurious element was the most important factor to middle class women.

Although small malls did not have the same level of exclusivity as the international-style malls, they were still sufficiently separated from the city at large to be advantageous for women. As with the elite malls, there was a clear threshold between the city in general and the private, managed space of the small malls. Their décor was not the most stylish, but the cohesive interior design was in clear contrast to the cacophony of designs on the urban street. Small malls were also cleaner than the street, used climate control, and had amenities like bathrooms, all of which were advantages to men and women. Particularly for women, the presence of security guards reduced the incidence of harassment. While I experienced more harassment in small malls than in international-style malls, it was significantly less and more subtle than what I experienced on the

street. Thus, the same physical advantages found in high-end malls, were also available to middle class women in small malls.

The large portion of the shops that catered to women would be a major draw for both female workers and patrons. Small malls not only had higher percentages of women's shops, but were dominated by gendered shops. Small malls typically contained only stores for clothing, shoes, and accessories with a small number of shops for housewares, but few other types of merchandise. International-style malls and the shopping street, on the other hand, more often included more shops for household goods and electronics. No informants expressed opinions about why the small malls sold higher percentages of gendered goods, but the vendors and *suq* merchants believed that these goods had high markups and so large profits were possible. The goods sold in the small malls (with the exception of Zahran Mall) were typically off-brands and lower quality than that sold in the international-style malls. The lower price points meant that they could not afford the expensive rents at the most elite malls, but also that they needed to attract large numbers of middle-class shoppers. Mall managers did note that women made a higher percentage of the purchases and so, especially with the limited foot traffic, it was even more important to reach out to the highest purchasing demographic that visited the malls.

As expected, the higher rate of women's stores in small malls, correlated with higher numbers of female shoppers. Several shopkeepers in Mena mall confirmed my data about the patrons. Two young (twenties) female shop clerks explained:

> All of the goods here are for women. Mostly women shop here. Occasionally men shop for their wives. Thursday and Friday nights are the busiest. Sometimes we shop here for ourselves. Middle class people shop here.[146]

[146] Interview December 10, 2010.

Similarly a young man who worked in a scarf shop described his clientele:

> I only sell to women. Once in a while men come in, but not very often. I sell all sorts of accessories. Half of the people buy something and half are just looking.[147]

In all malls, though, the percentage of shoppers correlated with the percentage of female sales staff rather than the number of shops. For example, two-thirds of City Centre's shops sold women's goods but only 40% of the workers were female and 40% of the shoppers were female. Regardless of the size of the mall, all malls except Falaky fit into this pattern (which had the highest rate of female shoppers). One of the obvious advantages higher levels of female workers presented to women was the option to shop in female-only shops. In the small malls, there were higher proportions of shops selling women's merchandise with no male staff and predominantly female customers. In a Western context, this was a routine practice, but in Alexandria, where most of the sales staff was male, this could have been seen as innovative. Surprisingly, female dominated spaces occurred most often in the small malls rather than the international-style malls.

One of the most surprising responses to questions about gender demographics came from female workers in their twenties in a Mohagabat or Islamic female attire shop in Mena Mall. This shop sold *'abayas*, Turkish-style *Jilbab* coats, face veils, and gloves to preserve modesty for the most conservative/Islamic part of the population. (The shop keepers did not dress with this level of modesty but wore standard clothing for Muslim women in Alexandria at the time, meaning long sleeves and long skirts, both in Western styles, with a headscarf). When asked about the makeup of the patrons, they all agreed that 50% of the customers were men and 50% women. The men came and shopped for their wives, they said. When questioned if they really meant that half of all customers

[147] Interview December 10, 2010.

were male, they became more adamant about the equality within their store. While it was possible that there was a significant male portion of the customer base buying for their wives, I only saw one man once in the store in all of my visits. This highlighted how important it was for Egyptians to be seen as not having gender discrimination even if it meant exaggerating the male presence.[148]

A large part of attracting middle-class women to shop at the malls lay outside of the demographics. This applied to both small malls and international-style malls. Price points were an extremely important factor as well as knowing how to stimulate desire. One shop owner in Mena Mall explained his secrets to successful business.

> I have had this shop here since the mall opened thirteen years ago. Before owning this shop, I was working in Italy but I came back to get married. For the first six years, business was good but these years were followed by five poorer years. Since then it has been better.
>
> Business depends on intelligence – not the market. You have to have business intelligence. It depends on having new goods. The people here are not like us [implying that he and I were of a higher class]. In the past, I did not have this corner [goods in a section of the store]. Everything is 2.5 pounds or less.[149] This is very good. Now I also have had this wall [of scarves] for three years. Customers like to see new goods. This place is not busy in winter but in summer business is good. Also in Eid because the Muslims must buy new clothes. In the summer it is busy because of the beach. Everyone comes to the beach. [150]

This store owner learned that to be successful, one must present a large number of goods with cheap prices and be continuously changing the goods.

Falaky Mall as a Female-Friendly Prototype

Falaky mall offered a good case study of how small malls were female-friendly in spite of not having the elite status of the international-style malls. Like other small malls,

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[148] Interview, December 13, 2010.
[149] About 45₵ in 2010.
[150] Interview, December 14, 2010.

its foot print was relatively small with a little over 3,000 square feet per floor and multiple levels accessed by a central escalator. As previously mentioned, Falaky set itself apart from the other buildings in central Alexandria through its architecture, but more importantly, it had a single, restricted entrance which was guarded by alert security personnel (this was in contrast to the security guards at some malls who were barely attentive to their surroundings). Second, it was impeccably clean and everything was new (probably because it was only a couple of years old when site visits were conducted). This contributed to it being considered modern, even if it was not as globally oriented as the international-style malls. Third, the small floor size and limited views made the space feel intimate and closed, which helped women feel like they were not on display and were protected. This also meant that men could not surreptitiously loiter and stare at women. Any such activity would be quickly noticed by the vigilant security officers who continuously patrolled each floor. Fourth, the mall was dominated by women's goods, had a majority of female sales staff, and had no mixed-gender shops. In this way, the mall was progressive, especially in comparison to the shops on the streets adjacent to the mall. It also meant that there were fewer reasons for men to wander through this mall. Fifth, the mall was accessible, both in terms of being located in the heart of the city and with good transportation, and in terms of economics because the goods were sold at low and medium price points. Falaky Mall was able to attract women because it had a large number of affordable stores for women, it was considered modern, even if it was not elite, and it gave women more privacy.

Conclusion

The two very different classes of shopping malls in Alexandria catered to different classes of people but were desirable spaces for women for the same reason. The importance of exclusivity cannot be overstated. Certain forms of exclusivity, such as selling luxury goods and using metal detectors and x-ray machines at entrances, aimed at embracing only the highest strata of society, but were not the most important practices. Whether it was exclusivity in (subtly) keeping out the lower classes, banning lower-class behavior, being separated from the weather, or being closed and private, these advantages were found in all malls. The exclusive nature of malls allowed women to feel that they were not out in public like on the city streets and that they were separated from the lower classes. In the case of the upper-class, they only visited the highest, most exclusive malls which were mostly out of the reach of the majority of the population. For middle-class women, they too could enjoy the advantages of exclusivity in small malls. Although they were not as exclusive as the international-style malls, they were more elite than street shopping and included the advantages of exclusive space. The exclusivity and modernity found in shopping malls were not fixed thresholds, but were sliding scales that varied by the audience.

Modernity was also an important component to the popularity of the shopping malls and had certain advantages specifically for women. The international-style malls clearly contained the most modern décor and amenities, but the small malls were surprisingly modern even if they were considered passé by the upper-class. The small malls took a modern approach to retailing which recognized the importance of convenience (having many tenants in a single space), comfort (including climate control

and restrooms), and security (being safe from crime and harassment). More importantly, small malls had the highest participation of women, both as workers and as patrons. They had the highest percentage of shops selling women's goods, the greatest portion with only female workers in women's shops, the fewest gender-mixed shops, and the most opportunities for women to not work with men. Although the increased gender segregation in small malls could be considered regressive, it was actually quite progressive. Because shop keeping was traditionally a male profession in the Middle East, women's incursions into the retail job market were quite modern. Similarly, throughout the Middle East there have been difficulties with male shop clerks in women's clothing shops. Many women (world-wide) prefer to buy clothing, especially intimate clothing, from other women, but this was difficult in Alexandria because a majority of the shops were staffed by men. The small malls were modern in that they offered more women-only space for shopping like what would be available in other countries. Thus, even though the small malls were not the most economically exclusive, they were more modern in other ways.

Table 6.1 – Gender of Merchandise by Retail Type.

	Exclusively Male	Percent	Exclusively Female	Percent	Children	Both	Percent	Nongendered	Total Shops	Percent Female	Ratio of Male to Female Goods 1:
Small Malls	20	13.51%	93	62.84%	10	6	4.05%	19	148	66.89%	4.7
International Style Malls	77	14.69%	236	45.04%	38	76	14.50%	97	524	59.54%	3.1
Shopping Street (Saad Zaghloul)	36	24.00%	46	30.67%	8	37	24.67%	23	150	55.33%	1.3
*Suq*s	No data										
Street Vendors	No data										

Table 6.2 – Foreign Names of Shops in International-style Malls and Saad Zaghloul Street.

Mall	Total shops & Services	English	% English	French	% French	Other foreign and foreign sounding	% Other	% Foreign
City Centre	130	55	42.31%	13	10.00%	10	7.69%	60.00%
Green Plaza	120	65	54.17%	5	4.17%	11	9.17%	67.50%
San Stefano	198	94	47.47%	11	5.56%	22	11.11%	64.14%
Total	448	214	47.77%	29	6.47%	43	9.60%	63.84%
Saad Zaghloul Street	131	19	14.50%	10	7.63%	4	3.05%	25.19%

Table 6.3 – Gender of Retail Workers by Retail Type.

	Total male	Percent male	Total female	Percent female	Total	Ratio female to male 1:
Small malls	104	46.22%	122	54.22%	225	0.9
International-style malls	607	64.51%	334	35.49%	941	1.8
Shopping street (Saad Zaghloul)	243	65.15%	130	34.85%	373	1.9
*Suq*s	676	88.48%	82	10.73%	764	8.2
Street vendors	1698	97.98%	35	2.02%	1733	48.5

Table 6.4 – Gender Mixing by Type of Mall.

	All malls	International-style malls	Small malls
Worker gender = goods	41%	38%	47%
Opposite gender	25%	26%	21%
Total open shops	600	425	175
Total open gendered shops	453	317	136
Men/women working together	19%	19%	12%
Shop selling to men/women	19%	20%	11%

CHAPTER 7

ENTROPY, INSECURITY AND INCONSISTENT PERCECPTIONS IN THE CITY CENTER

Introduction

In contrast to shopping malls, street shopping was moving in an entirely different trajectory. Instead of creating new upscale centers which reinforced upwardly mobile identity, downtown shopping experienced fragmentation into multiple forms of retail and an explosion in the number of sellers. As the center of the cosmopolitan city, the area was open, free, and relatively gender-integrated, but this was not seen as ideal for women. As discussed in Chapter 6, women preferred social shopping spaces which were high class, modern, and exclusive. Yet a large number of women, including middle and upper-class women, continued to shop in the city center without these amenities. One of the main reasons was because goods could be found for much lower prices in the city center.

Money and Fashion

In Egypt, the importance of clothing and dressing stylishly has a long tradition. In discussing Medieval Egypt, Goitein quoted a well-known Middle Eastern saying, "Waste on your back, save on your belly" which expressed that it was important enough to be well dressed and that scrimping on food was preferable to being poorly dressed

(Goitein 1983, 150). Similar sentiments were expressed by informants, including the need to sacrifice to be able to afford fashionable clothing. Of the people interviewed, prices were important to everyone, even among women who shopped overseas. More and more, women found that they could purchase up-to-date clothing without having to travel because of the international brand stores in the shopping malls. Although it was agreed that the latest fashions were found in the malls, all informants agreed that prices in malls were generally higher than nonmall prices. Thus, the ability to find affordable goods, no matter where they were sold was an important skill.

To better understand the effects of entropy on nonelite retail space, this chapter will examine who shopped downtown and what risks this entailed (Figure 7.1). The cost-conscious nature of all women interviewed meant that they all shopped downtown sometimes, but they had different ways of viewing which space was theirs. The fragmentation and loss of elite space occurred in tandem with a number of challenges which could be lumped under the term insecurity. Unlike the shopping malls which were professionally managed, street shopping was not secure, consistent, or harmonious. For shoppers, economic insecurity meant access to goods in the informal market was unpredictable and without consumer protections. For vendors, it meant that their livelihood was quite insecure and their physical insecurity took the form of clashes with police. Each of these forms of insecurity defined downtown shopping in contrast to the security found in shopping malls where all of these forms were minimized for both customer and seller. The chapter will conclude by examining how some of the perceptions about gender and retailing in the cosmopolitan city were inconsistent.

Mapping Downtown

Loss of Women's Space and Rise of Male Space

Although there was significant physical deterioration in downtown Alexandria after the 1960s (it was lamented as being in decline by architects, planners and ex-patriots) - it would be more accurate to say that the city center had changed in character and this affected the gendering of retail space. Beside the exodus of high-end shops, the decline of the department stores affected female shopping. The upscale department stores had been the domain of women as they contained the most luxurious public spaces, employed significant numbers of women and were dominated by goods for and typically purchased by women. Particularly before 1970, there were many memoirs of exciting outings to the department stores (by women and/or children shopping with their mothers).

These stores suffered when they were nationalized and declined in reputation and desirability of goods sold. The department stores remained, but ceased to be desirable locations. Instead, they became places of pragmatic shopping for appliances or for wedding trousseaus. In this way, women lost an entire category of female-friendly spaces. The second big change to the city center was the rise in the male-dominated informal sector. The social construct kept women out of these jobs because they were perceived as requiring a toughness not associated with women. These male vendors sold products for both men and women, but their presence in the street changed the character of the space. Their manners, considered low class by the upper-middle and upper classes, and their brash behavior widened the behavioral gap between upper-class spaces (malls) and lower-class spaces (streets). The loss of women's luxury space, the rise of male

informal space and the physical deterioration led to the change in reputation as a female-friendly space.

Mapping Downtown Retail Space by Class

Before the shopping malls, upwardly mobile women considered downtown part of their space. It was a part of town where they were welcome and where they appreciated the ambiance and shopping. Their space consisted of the department stores, boutiques, upscale cafes, and the routes to and from these places. After the advent of shopping malls as high-end alternatives and the decline of the city center, higher-class women (and men to a lesser extent) redefined the city as focusing on the exclusive international-style malls. They abdicated their claim on downtown in general. It is important to note, however, that while the downtown shopping area was no longer "theirs," middle- and upper-class informants, all had experience shopping in this area. In fact, some of the same informants, who had ridiculed small malls as unworthy of their time, had not only been frequent downtown shoppers in the past, but also shared their special knowledge of the best places to shop. Although downtown lost its status, in 2010 - people from the upper-classes still knew where the best deals could be found and were proud of their ability to navigate the hustle and bustle. For the lower classes, shopping in downtown gave them an opportunity to shop in the area which used to be associated with the upper-class, and thus elevate themselves. For many of them, coming downtown from other parts of the city, especially on weekend nights, represented a special outing (Table 7.1). In this way the map of downtown was reconstructed by different people as a series of patterns of spaces which "belonged" to them.

For a twenty-six year old professional woman, the process of shopping involved numerous options, both in the malls and downtown. She described where to find a *hijab* as well as the effects of the proliferation of shopping choices that she had seen in her lifetime.

> When I was ten years old there was only Mahata Ramleh and Mansheiya [for shopping]. Things were cheap but there were not a lot of choices of things to buy. You have to find what you need from these stores. Now you can go to so many places. They have lots of normal things and they are cheap. There wasn't a lot of window shopping when I was ten. Now people are crazy about shopping. Maybe because there was no place to go but now there are so many places. You see this and see that and want to buy this or that. Now it is much better to shop. Before, there was not anything to encourage you to shop. You would just go and buy and that's it.
>
> It is not only about price. The quality of goods in Mansheiya and the materials are not the same, nor are the styles. The rich people go to Carrefour [City Centre Mall] so the styles and materials are better there. Sometimes I go to Mansheiya. To buy a *hijab*, there isn't just one place to go. In Mansheiya, you will find shops between clothing shops. There are one or two shops in Carrefour [City Centre Mall] and one or two in Green Plaza. Also, there are some at the tram station [Mahata Ramleh]. [151]

A forty year old woman from Cairo who had been living in Alexandria since she got married stated that not much has changed in Alexandria in terms of shopping in the last eighteen years except for the introduction of the hypermarkets. For her, shopping for food in street markets was preferable because the prices were lower and the food was fresher and thus, even because she could afford to shop at City Centre Mall, her map of the city included outdoor markets.[152] A twenty year old lower-middle class woman explained that she went to Mahatat Ramleh to shop because there were better stores [than Mansheiya] and the goods were plentiful with a large variety. For her, downtown was still the heart of

[151] Interview October 18, 2010.
[152] Interview January 4, 2011.

the city and the center of shopping.[153] A twenty-two year old woman who had worked in a shop downtown for two-and-a-half years used to work in another store called Beuioni. She described different working conditions and where she preferred to shop.

> There [in Beuioni], the work is better, but here the hours are better. Now I only have to work until 9:30pm but in the other store I was there until midnight or 1am. And I receive the same money. In the big street, there was more work. More customers and more clothes. I shop in Ibrahimeiya on Suria Street and in Rushdy. There are many shops and they have more modern clothes and more fashion. Sometimes my mother sends me to Midan Street market to buy food.[154]

For this young woman, downtown was for working and shopping for food (on Midan Street), but for herself, she preferred to shop closer to home in the shops and small malls in Ibrahimeiya and Rushdy. In contrast, the older informants discussed how shopping downtown used to be a pleasant experience but had been cheapened by stores selling inexpensive knockoffs. One woman cautioned me that one must always examine the quality of the merchandise downtown – especially from the street vendors.

> Street vendors are very poor. They go to a *suq* to buy their merchandise. Usually it is poor quality but sometimes you find something wonderful. You just have to check the quality for yourself. Most of the stuff is imported from China. It still has to go through the same taxes [as goods sold in stores] but doesn't have the same mark ups that you have in a store because it goes through fewer hands.[155]

From these descriptions, it was apparent that a wide variety of goods with cheap price points was important and what drew people into the heart of the city. The lively atmosphere created by the crowds and affordable merchandise was appreciated by a large spectrum of the population even if this space did not contain the same protections found in exclusive shopping zones. In this way, downtown still had value for all informants even if they did not consider it part of "their" space. In general, the lower-middle class

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[153] Interview December. 29, 2010.
[154] Interview December 29, 2010.
[155] Interview December 18, 2010.

population was more likely to see downtown as part of a shopping district which "belonged" to them while upper-class women were more likely to feel that the area had fallen beneath them, but contained useful parts.

Gender Mixing and the Cosmopolitan City

As a part of the European-style Cosmopolitan City, Alexandria's Central Business District (Mansheiya and Mahata Ramleh) was intended to appeal to female shoppers who were considered the principal shoppers, particularly of clothing and housewares. This area consisted of shops which were oriented towards Europe, and Paris in particular, and included a large number of mixed shops. Indeed of all of the retail types surveyed, Saad Zaghloul Street contained the most even distribution of gendered shops with nearly one-quarter of the shops exclusively male, slightly more than one-quarter exclusively female and about one-quarter mixed (Table 7.2).[156] On the other hand, the *suq*s, whose retail type predates the shops on Saad Zaghloul Street, were much less likely to be gender mixed because of their specialization. For example, the Zinqat al-Sittat, sold exclusively female goods. The silver *suq*, which was adjacent to the women's *suq*, sold primarily jewelry for women, with limited men's goods and some housewares (such as trays and tea sets). Even one of the newest *suq*s, *Suq* Ghurfa Tugariya, only sold men's goods. Outside of the city center the *suq*s tended to be dominated by food products (68% city-wide) with nearly 30% selling a variety of goods. Unlike other forms of retail, clothing only constituted 3% of the *suq*s throughout the city (Governate 2011).[157] Conversely, street vendors on the major streets downtown almost exclusively sold gendered goods.

[156] The remaining one-quarter of shops sold nongendered goods such as housewares and cell phones.
[157] Most *suqs* selling gendered goods sold a variety of goods but it is impossible to determine from the Governor's report which *suqs* sold gendered goods and only a minority of the *suqs* were surveyed.

The others sold food products. Unfortunately, reliable data on the gender of street vendors' merchandise was not obtainable, but it appeared that more goods were offered for women, with a significant amount of men's merchandise also for sale on the street. Yet, almost never were male and female goods offered by the same vendor. In terms of merchandise, the downtown shops were the most gender integrated type of retail in the city while the *suq*s and street vendors almost always sold to only one gender.

The employment opportunities for women varied substantially by type of retail as well. In the shops on Saad Zaghloul Street, the percentage of female employees (about one-third) was similar to that of the international-style malls but lower than that of the small malls (where more than half of the employees were women) (Table 7.3). Also about one-third of the shops on Saad Zaghloul Street contained men and women working together. The women were typically in their early twenties while men's ages varied. Male employees were usually in their twenties while owners or owners' sons were over thirty. There were more shops with men and women working together than there were shops selling to both genders. This was typically because men were working alongside women, in women's shops. Unlike in the malls where 41% of shops were essentially single gendered, there were very few shops which created female-only (5%) or male-only spaces (18%) with workers matching the merchandise. In the other shops there were many examples of both men working in women's shops and women working in men's shops, but a majority of the shops (55%) employed only male workers (Table 7.4). This shows that the shops on Saad Zaghloul Street were far more gender-integrated both in terms of merchandise and workers than the newest form of retail space, the mall.

However, that there were fewer opportunities for women to work without the presence of men or to shop privately.

The minority of women working in markets in other parts of Egypt was well documented (see below). Female sellers in *suq*s was not a new or abnormal phenomenon but the percentages of female vendors varied widely by *suq*. Women were best represented in the Zinqat al-Sittat where they comprised about one-quarter of the vendors (Table 7.5). Most of these women were young employees of someone else's shops and often worked with young men in the same shop. Women also made up a small but noticeable portion of the vendors in food markets, but in some markets zero women vendors were found (Table 7.6). In Midan Street Market, the largest *suq* in the city, which was located in the heart of Mansheiya and sold primarily fruits, vegetables, and sea food, a large portion of the women sellers worked beside their husbands. Outside of the *suq*s, the percentage of female street vendors was negligible. Women were a small but visible part of the tradition of selling food in outdoor markets, but had made few in roads into selling gendered goods on the city streets. In this way it appeared that women were more comfortable working in well-established arenas and less likely to venture into the more risky and insecure types of retailing.

Of mobile street vendors (i.e., outside of *suq*s), there were so few female vendors that each instance could be examined individually. The most common female vendor was one woman who sold vegetables in a plaza in front of *Suq* Franasawy. Unlike the dozens of male vendors selling gendered goods in this square, this woman sat quietly away from the street and sold her vegetables more or less regularly for a few hours in the afternoon. The second most consistent female vendor was a woman selling Kleenex packets on a

Safiyya Zaghloul Street. Occasionally other women could be seen selling merchandise of such low value, such as cheap plastic goods or hair bands, that they must have had access to almost no capital. These poorest women vendors were always shrouded by a black *'abaya*, head scarf and occasionally face veil. They were generally middle aged or old women. Occasionally, women also appeared to be assisting male family members with selling, but after interviewing one such woman, I discovered that she was simply bringing dinner to her son and not involved in selling at all – so there is the possibility that the number of women venders was even lower. Lastly, there were two women who were observed only once each, selling gendered merchandise on the street just like men. Unfortunately, their brisk sales prevented any interviews.

Determining the rate of gender integration in shoppers was more difficult on the street than in the malls. Unlike in the malls, or even the *suq*s, the shopping street presented a difficulty in determining which occupants were shopping and which were merely passing through. Also, the high density of people and level streets did not permit wide-ranging views. During the day, there was a higher chance that people in the retail center of the city were using the space for transit or as part of their jobs, but at night, when offices are closed, it was more likely that occupants were using the space for shopping. Interestingly, on both Saad Zaghloul Street and Safiyya Zaghloul Street, there was an increase in the percentage of women on these shopping streets at night (Table 7.1). On Saad Zaghloul Street, this number was consistent with the average female participation at all malls and higher than that of international-style malls. Thus, it is clear that women were well represented in downtown, as patrons, workers and in merchandise.

From the crowds that thronged these streets on weekend nights, it is also clear that downtown shopping remained popular for women.

Women and Space in the *Suq* and the Informal Economy

Researchers in other parts of Egypt have documented how women have joined the informal economy and how they adapted spatially to "male" space. In Hani Fakhiuri's study of the village of Kafr el-Elow during the 1980s, he noticed that female merchants who typically sold poultry were located on one side of the market, while men who sold other animals were located on the other side. Kitchen goods, women's jewelry and accessories were located in the center of the market (Fakhouri 1987, 51-52). Homa Hoodfar's research in Cairo (1983-1994) found that very poor women who had few other employment options engaged in selling, especially vegetables. Fruit, which was more profitable, was often out of reach of these women because they did not have enough capital to buy the goods. Vending in a *suq* or on the street was also advantageous for these women because it offered them flexibility to take time off during the day to attend to household duties (Hoodfar 1997, 127, 175). Similarly, Evelyn Early's work in Bulaq, a poor section of Cairo showed women vendors using vending to increase their income. The coping strategy for these women was to put on a brusque masculine persona in order to counteract the harsh conditions of the street. Unfortunately for many of these women, their work became increasingly insecure as other vendors with better transportation and access to capital moved in (Early 1993, 5, 44-45). In each of these situations, women were part of the economic system, but found ways to do so without being completely integrated.

Nadia Khouri-Dagher found that in some cases people use post-rationalization in order to cope with things out of their reach. "Facing a difficult situation, people have adopted several coping strategies which are worthy of close examination. Perhaps the most striking is the process of postrationalization, whereby people transform action by constraint into deliberate choices, thus justifying the situation to themselves" (Khouri-Dagher 1996, 121). One example was in access to government subsidized "cooperatives" (*gam'iyyaat*) which were less frequently found in low income and informal neighborhoods. One informant explained that she never bought meat from the cooperative because "they [the meat] taste like soap." Another man forbade his wife to patronize cooperatives because he felt it was demeaning "to be mixed with all these people." One woman claimed the cooperatives were dangerous and even recounted a story of how a woman was beaten to death by an employee.

> It is important to note that post-rationalization is often framed in cultural or traditional logic, that is, based on values which cannot be debated. Thus one of the most common rationales for accommodating lack of access to the cooperative is that standing in lines for hours and fighting crowds is demeaning for a woman. The idea that the market is not a place for women, which has historically been reinforced by Arab urban culture, surfaces here. Though the women of these neighborhoods go to the market almost every day, they still invoke this argument for tradition without being conscious that it is transparently contradictory" (Khouri-Dagher 1996, 121).

As these rationalizations disappeared greater access was granted and thus, it was obvious they were coping strategies to give people the illusion of controlling their situation. It was also important to note that these women traditionally patronized markets on a daily basis and that there were no universal injunctions against women in retail space. This became relevant to this discussion when comparing rationale for male dominated street vending with female vendors in markets.

Insecurity in Downtown Retailing

Inconsistency in the City Center

The hectic conditions in the downtown shopping district created a number of forms of inconsistency which were in sharp contrast with the secure dependability of the shopping malls. First, the individual ownership of the shops and entrepreneurial spirit of the vendors meant that each merchant had the option to run his/her business according to his/her own methods. Conditions such as uniform hours of operation, consistent lighting, and standardized cleaning and maintenance were not found in street shopping. In contrast, shopping malls contained only one type of retail interaction, the "modern, impersonal" transaction between a clerk and customer where prices were marked and consistent for all.[158] Even the kiosks sellers in the malls followed these same rules. On Saad Zaghloul Street some shops practiced "impersonal" selling with fixed prices and ambivalent store clerks while others (usually staffed by the owner) were welcoming, personable, and offered "special deals" to entice new customers or reward loyal shoppers. This was in contrast to the street vendors who practiced in-your-face marketing and abundant negotiating. This created a schism between the relatively calm shop interior and the boisterous sidewalks which connect them. As shoppers moved through the space, they were continuously confronted with different rules of behavior and the unpredictability of the urban shopping street.

Street shopping literally suffered from a lack of security because there were no security personnel. Unlike the malls which contained security forces to enforce behavior, morality, and consistency, the urban police force did not normally concern itself with

[158] Occasionally, in owner-tended shops in small malls, there were more options for negotiating and building a relationships with the owner similar to some of the shops on Saad Zaghloul Street.

these sorts of infractions. In fact, at times, policemen themselves harassed women. The most visible police presence was found in directing traffic which attempted to bring some order to the downtown circulation. The second most visible police presence, those patrolling for illegal vendors were actually another source of insecurity and unpredictability, as will be shown below. Men were free to verbally harass women on the streets and occasionally grope or sexually harass. Because there were no security personnel to control this type of behavior, people relied on public shaming to control behavior. When an egregious act was made public, shaming by people in the vicinity was common and effective, but most acts of harassment were ignored by the general populace. Similarly, fighting between young men was usually managed through the intervention of their peers rather than authority figures. The perceived increase in sexual harassment (including unwanted sexual advances, vulgar and/or sexual comments/gestures, and groping) in Alexandria over Cairo was generally attributed to the more conservative nature of Alexandria and the reduced numbers of foreigners.[159] In short, Alexandria was considered less cosmopolitan than Cairo and thus less able to "appropriately" deal with mixed gender situations in public, which made "appropriate" behavior in malls all the more important. Like the situation that Mona Abaza pointed out in Cairo, Alexandria, too, was surprisingly safe from (nonsexual) street crime, but there was still the perception that crime could occur more easily on the street than in an enclosed shopping center.

In 2011, events associated with the Egyptian Revolution highlighted how tenuous this apparent safety could be for women and how general insecurity threatened women's

[159] I could not find any data to support this claim but it was repeated to me by Alexandrians over and over again and was consistent with my own experience.

safety. During the eighteen days of the revolution (Jan. 25 – Feb. 11, 2011), the crowds at Tahrir Square in Cairo and other locations throughout the country were surprisingly free of violence (beating, groping, stripping off clothing, or rape) and verbal harassment towards women. Men and women protested together relatively free of incident, even though they were all located on city streets and often at night. The first incident to change this occurred on the day President Hosni Mubarak resigned. Among the celebrations, Lara Logan, an American CBS reporter was sexually attacked and beaten (Shenker 2011). This egregious event was followed by many others. Rowan El Shimi, a journalist and blogger, for example, noted that "the first time I was actually groped was sadly enough in Tahrir square during the July 8th sit-in. It made sense that it would happen, since especially on weekends, the square attracted people who were not there for the protests but to hang out, eat sweet potato and check out the chicks" (Shimi 2011). Shimi noted that while most people were horrified by the sexual harassment, some just stood by and watched. These and other incidents were discussed in the news and in the blogosphere, but beginning in about November 2011, harassment against women seemed to intensify exponentially.

Egyptian women, who had never been groped before, reported blatant sexual harassment (both verbal and physical) in Tahrir Square. A second egregious event took place on November 23, 2011. Mona Eltahawy, an Egyptian-American reporter and her friend were brutally and sexually attacked when they had been entrapped by men on Mohamed Mahmoud Street in Cairo (Eltahawy 2011). She was then beaten and incarcerated by the police force. Many more attacks on women by officials and regular people were reported but an incident on December eighteenth would shock again. On this

day, a camera caught a video of a woman being beaten by security forces as she was dragged through the street. A horrifying image of this incident widely circulated showing this woman, whose '*abaya* and shirt had been stripped away so that her naked torso and bright blue bra were clearly visible. The most famous photograph was taken just as a security official was poised to stomp on her abdomen with his booted foot.[160] These types of events continued into January 2012 when women also reported men trying to pull off their pants in addition to the other sexual harassment (Abdoun 2012). There was general outrage about these and other events, but they did begin occurring and occurring with greater frequency as insecurity crept into post-Mubarak Egypt. These horrific events reinforced the idea that the street was not a secure place for women as they could be sexually and physically attacked by regular men or security forces.

Economic and Legal Insecurity

Economic insecurity affected street vendors and *suq* merchants more than those in shops because of their tenuous situation. Across the board, men, women, young, old, legal, illegal, in the street, or in markets, all vendors expressed frustration at the difficulty making a decent living from vending. Interviews in the Cleopatra Zanainiri *Suq* provided important insight into the daily life of *suq* merchants and their difficulties. Originally, the market stood on dedicated land, but about fifteen years ago, a school was built on this land and the market was pushed into the street. Although the street is not packed with vendors, the combination of vendors and parked cars made it difficult to drive through

[160] http://blogs.aljazeera.com/liveblog/egypt-dec-18-2011-0937 , http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ot_wU1iZWqs , http://rt.com/news/egyptian-military-cruelty-beating-079/ .

the street. A forty year old man who sold fruit from a small shop in the *suq* explained the spatial conflict in this market:

> This is called Zanainiri. In the past people were gentle [helwa] but now they are less sweet and more grumpy. There was less money in the past but it was enough. Now the money is more but people are rude and aggressive. In the past, this *suq* was bigger. That school there was all part of the *suq* [meaning the land which the school sits on was formerly part of the *suq*]. Before the school was built, it was a *suq*. It was built about fifteen years ago. Now the government is fighting the vendors and they don't want people to buy and sell in the street. They only want people to buy and sell in the shops and not in the street. The police come in cars and take everything that is in the street. Then you lose it all. Or if you pay a big fine you can get it back. They come all the time. Every day they take stuff back [to the station]. The side walk is okay but the street is forbidden. I am selling the same fruits as I always have [bananas and strawberries].[161]

Another old man recounted a similar story. He had been selling in this market since 1950:

> The *suq* was also in the field [or vacant lot] where the school is now. It was divided into parts [stalls] and had small roads between the shops. Then they built the school and told the people to go out into the street. That was about fifteen to twenty years ago. Now each time the officer [Dhabit] comes and takes all of your things. The police are always telling them to get on the sidewalk.

This market sold primarily food including live poultry. Many of the vendors were middle aged or older adults with a few people in their late teens or early twenties. There were very few vendors in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties. Female vendors comprised less than 15% of the total vendors and sold vegetables, cheese, live poultry, and eggs. The vendors were very eager to discuss their business and often argued with each other about their interpretations about business, but there was general agreement that prices had gone up and there had been a reduction in profits. The second favorite topic was the harassment by the government authorities.

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[161] Interview December 27, 2010.

An older woman who had been selling garlic, potatoes and a pink vegetable[162] for thirty years sat on the sidewalk selling from baskets angrily complained about the government:

> The government takes away everything in the street. I have no shop so they make me feel like a thief. There is no security. In the past, there were less people and less cars and business was better. I sell the same products but they come in different forms [shakl]. For example, in the past, garlic used to come by itself and with a stem/root. But now it is packaged like this [in a packet of four or five garlic heads in a mesh tube]. Garlic used to be more local. Now it is modern in a package. [163]

This woman's mother was also a vendor in the *suq*. She was situated across the street and said she had been selling in that same spot for sixty years. She sold onions and had always sold onions. At 100 years old and with sixteen grandchildren, she was tired. It was very hard to earn money for all of them and three of her sons had already died. Unlike most of the other vendors, she was not intent in recounting horror stories about the police but about the sore on her finger. [164]

A young man who was selling bread from the sidewalk just outside of a bakery argued with the older people when they said business was better in the past. He said it is better now. He had been working for the owner of the bakery for five months. Before this he was in school and worked in a clothing shop. The pay was better there but he could not remember why he changed jobs. He felt like he had the same amount of interaction with people here. This was not a government subsidized bakery, but there was a subsidized bakery down the block. I observed a worker unlocking the padlocked door of

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[162] قلقاش.

[163] Interview December 27, 2010. Note: all of the female vendors in this market were interviewed, so they are disproportionately represented in the interviews.

[164] Interview December 27, 2010.

the subsidized store. Before he had even reached the lock, there was a large crowd of men (fifteen to twenty) pushing to be the first to enter the bakery. [165]

A man, who had been working in the *suq* for forty-five years, or since he was ten, sold eggs, pigeons, and cheese. In the past his cheese cost 8 piastres but in 2010 it was 12 pounds. Three eggs used to be 5 piastres but rose to 70 piastres per egg. Pigeons cost 30 piastres in 1960 and in 2010 two pigeons were 25 pounds. Rice was 6 piastres and increased to 3.5 pounds.[166] Unlike almost every other vendor, he said that now the profit is more and people are buying more. They buy more kilos and more eggs. People eat more now that they are wealthier. This vendor may have been the most perceptive because according to the World Health Organization, 66% of the Egyptian population was overweight or obese and the rate had risen significantly since the 1990s,[167] which would suggest that people were buying more food (WHO 2006; WHO 2008). The vegetable seller above argued with him about profits being better now. He conceded that there was more or less profit according to the product. [168] Two older women who sold hens and pigeons in the middle of the street agreed that business was better in the past. They had been selling for forty years and the profit was more in the past. For example cheese used to be 3 pounds and it rose to 12 pounds. Also, the government would not leave them alone. They could come at any time and take everything. [169]

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[165] Interview December 27, 2010.
[166] Many of the vendors complained about how much more goods cost today but it is unclear whether these vendors could articulate the differences between profits and prices and understood about inflation. I discussed this with the (native Arabic speaking) colleague who had accompanied me to this *suq* and she too expressed doubts about whether these concepts were clear to the vendors.
[167] The overweight and obesity rates were similar to those in the United States.
[168] Interview December 27, 2010.
[169] Interview December 27, 2010.

A thirty year old man who worked in his father's fruit shop described the relationship between the different types of retail. The fruit was artistically displayed inside the shop and on the sidewalk:

> This shop was here before I was born. My father complained about how the past was better and there was more profit before Carrefour. Back then, everyone came to the market. Now some people go to the market and some go to Carrefour. These mobile vendors are very poor. They have no other job and need to earn money. They have nothing else that they can do. They do bring more people to the shop and I have no problem with them. There are also sometimes problems with the police when selling on the sidewalk as well as on the street. The police want people to just be selling in the shop, but when goods are in the street, they make more money. People can see the merchandise better and buy more. [170]

Around the corner from the main street of the *suq*, a group of six *fellahin* women sat in the shade cleaning vegetables. They woke up at 4am to arrive in Alexandria by 6am because it took an hour to drive by car. They bought the vegetables from the farmers and then resold them in the city. Because they did not have refrigeration, they had to sell everything each day. They could not deal with any leftover but this was also why their vegetables were the freshest, they explained. In addition to selling the vegetables, they spent the day peeling the vegetables and chopping them into useable sizes. Although all were eager to participate in the interview, three of the women did most of the talking. One woman had been working there for sixteen years after she inherited it from her mother-in-law. Another had been doing this for eighteen years. The third woman did not say how long she had been working except that it was less than twenty years, which was unsurprising since she was relatively young. [171]

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[170] Interview December 27, 2010.
[171] Interview December 27, 2010.

For these vendors, the rising prices and decreased buying power[172] meant a reduction in their profits. All of the vendors, including those who owned shops, felt that it was more difficult to earn an income. There was no difference in the responses based on gender. Both male and female vendors expressed similar frustration at the declining income, but it appeared that women were employed in the lowest and least secure positions. There were no women who sold from shops. They all sat in the street or on the sidewalks.

Interestingly, the vendors from Cleopatra *Suq* did not list competition as a source of economic insecurity. This was in contrast to the vendors on Saad Zaghloul Street and in the Zinqat al-Sittat. In the Zinqat, where most of the shop owners had been selling for decades, there was an awareness that the dramatic increase in the number of street vendors was depressing the prices for all merchants and substantially eating into their profit. They surmised that so many people were becoming vendors because outsiders saw the potential for big mark-ups, especially in clothing, and believed they could earn a lot of money quickly if they became vendors. Unfortunately, the large mark-ups were eaten away when goods passed through several distributors or had to be sold at reduced rates due to the competition. They lamented the new consumer who fastidiously comparison-shopped (and often bought outside of the *suq*) rather than those who bought through established relationships with sellers.

In talking directly to the street vendors on Saad Zaghloul Street, there were a variety of circumstances and opinions, but the one thing they all agreed upon what that

[172] Although the vendor above claimed that people were wealthier in 2010 and could buy more food, most other vendors agreed that the purchasing power had been reduced. A few insightful vendors proposed that people were overall richer, but had more demands on their money such as paying for tutors for their children or more up to date clothes.

business was better in the past. As previously mentioned, the demographics of the street vendors was much narrower than those selling in other markets. The bulk of the vendors were young men who wanted to "try their hand" at selling and for many of these men, vending was considered a temporary occupation to stave off unemployment. A male vendor of about forty years who was selling women's shirts from a waist high pole recounted his business experience:

> I have been doing this for fifteen years but it was better in the past. The money was better and the government didn't hassle us as much. The municipality is always a problem now. It is even worse than five years ago. Ten years ago it was easier. My goods are different from what they sell in the shops so they are not competition for me. I sell different quality, different merchandise. Mine are for the *sha'abia* [or the popular classes]. [173]

A forty year old man selling from a tarp on an alley off of Saad Zaghoul Street explained about his business:

> I have been selling for fifteen years but before this I worked in a factory. The factory was better because I had a fixed salary but the profit was not enough so I try to work here. How much I make depends. On some days the sales are up. But when one has a fixed job, they don't work as much. In the past people were buying more. The formal exhibitions that have advertising make problems for me. They are competition. People see these things and want them. They want to go shop in the stores like Carrefour so they don't shop as much in the markets like they did before. Selling from the side streets is not a problem. The police leave you alone. They just want to clear out the street and keep people from selling on the street. If the police man comes it is okay to be on the side street. It isn't a problem. But if the municipality car comes, then I have to move. [174]

A thirty-five year old male vendor selling bras and panties from a tarp on the sidewalk explained how to sell intimate merchandise to women. I initially approached his tarp because it appeared that it was tended by a woman. However, the woman standing next to the tarp was his mother who had brought him dinner.

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[173] Interview January 6, 2011.
[174] Interview January 6, 2011.

> I have been working on the streets in this area for fifteen years. In Egypt there are lots of unemployed so they have to do something to get money. Sometimes this means that they have to go against the municipality. I have a certificate in business and trading but I have to do this. It is better than doing things that are more illegal like drugs and smuggling. In fifteen years of business, the profit was better before but things are worse because the city is more strict. Before this, I was a car mechanic. I have a wife and children. My mother comes to see if I'm okay and bring me some food, but she does not help selling. For me, it is no problem to sell to women because I know how to talk lightly with them. I always use good manners. Sometimes husbands buy for their wives but there is no difference between now and before. Girls don't sell on the street. It would be difficult for them to run away when the police come. [175]

The most enlightening interview was with a sixty year old vendor who worked out of a cabinet on a vendor filled plaza adjacent to Saad Zaghoul Street.

> I have been selling here for twenty-five years. Before that I was an employee in a company but now I have kids and am retired and can't work anymore. I took my retirement money and invested it to make this "store." This is good for my sons so that they can earn money. Two of my sons work here and I have a third son…There is no problem with police here because I have a license. I'm not allowed to sell stuff from the street [like the two tarps and one rack currently on the street] so if the police come, I have to pull it back on to the sidewalk in front of the cabinet. But there is no problem selling things on the sidewalk. Twenty-five years ago, things were cheaper. Now they are more expensive so people buy less now. Under Sadat things were very good [he kissed the air] but every year things are worse under Mubarak. [He curses Mubarak, calls him a dog and launches into a string of insults].[176]
>
> Sometimes men come and shop for themselves. Sometimes it is a man and his wife. Also foreigners shop here. But mostly men shop alone [he sells primarily men's clothing]. A wife comes and shops along on occasion and even less often for her son. Since ten years ago – women are buying more for men and younger women are buying more. Now the wife chooses for her husband. Her opinion is important. They both come and discuss what to buy and how much money to spend. Now they share opinions. This happened less in the past. Now women work more. If she works, she can pick up something for her husband as a gift. But if she doesn't work, men buy their own clothes for themselves. Women are working more now.
>
> In the past sellers came to the market at 2pm and left at 6pm. Now I stay from 2pm until midnight. In the past the profit was better so you could make enough

[175] Interview January 6, 2011.
[176] His cursing of Mubarak and open contempt for the then president was shocking in the pre-Arab Spring atmosphere.

> money in that time. Now there is more competition so you have to go out selling longer. Look around. There is one customer for every four to five sellers. Sometimes I go two to three hours with just one customer. In the past a man would buy for himself and something for his wife and something for the kids but now he can only afford to get one thing.
>
> The amount of profit you make depends on God. It is better to you take your luck at this than to spend all day sitting in a café. More people are going to work on the streets. There are no fixed jobs. All of these people are educated [gestures to the surrounding vendors]. They all have certificates and college degrees. They are all educated. Life is hard.
>
> The process of starting to work is that a young person works with a mentor under his supervision. He learns how to sell the merchandise and how to price it and how to bargain. He takes a salary and the mentor gives him advice and experience. Then after he has experience he asks to have a separate space. To be independent. So the mentor gives him his own space. Probably right next to his. That's what all these guys are doing. He encourages them to work instead of staying home. I have trained twelve of these vendors. [When asked if he was the father of this corner he said,] I am the Godfather of this area.[177] Not just this area but down the street a little too. And the next area. These are all my students. If a new guy comes, I choose what goods. I'm responsible for the type of goods but I don't charge a fee or require bribes. I act as the distributor for all of these shops.[178]

In essence, all of the mentees were selling for him while maintaining their independence. He had the security of legitimacy of having a cabinet and the street vendors had to take all of the risk, but he was physically out in the same space with them.

The vendors, whether on the street, having a cabinet, or in a *suq* consistently described the increasing income insecurity. The two main factors were the decreased buying power of customers and the increased competition. This resulted in the need to spend increasing amounts of time selling and much of this time was wasted because of the dearth of customers. These two factors had a huge impact on the shopping space in Alexandria's streets. The increase in number of vendors and the amount of time spent selling on street meant that the public transit spaces (sidewalks and streets) transformed

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[177] "أنا سيد المنطقة".

[178] Interview January 6, 2011.

from occasional points of commerce to nearly permanent bases of selling. Throughout most of the afternoon and evening, the downtown city streets were turned over to commerce and people who used these streets for noncommercial purposes such as walking between destinations were continuously confronted with commercial space.

The second change that this produced was the increase in male presence on the street. While it is unknown how the percentage of male and female visitors has changed on the city streets in the past four decades, it was apparent that there was an increase in the number of stationary men using the street as commercial space. The presence of these male vendors changed the urban character of the space. By 2010, these men further partitioned the already fragmented urban space, by commandeering public space and controlling the region around it. People passing through a space controlled by a vendor were treated as potential consumers, but not given the respect generally afforded to potential customers. The verbal harassment ranged from a vendor simply shouting the goods he was selling, to bullying, to physically confronting pedestrians. The persistence of the vendor's attempts increased with his assessment of a person's buying potential. In this way, the character of the city streets was shaped primarily by men, with what was considered lower class behavior, who were trying to earn a living and who used aggressive sales techniques to do so with limited success. Thus, the atmosphere of the street was heavily influenced by these men who were typically bored, frustrated, and aggressive thus reinforcing the disorderly nature of shopping on the city street.

Street Vendors and the Police

The insecure economic position of the vendors was made more tenuous through the efforts of the municipality to "clean up" the streets through police raids on street

vendors (Figure 7.2). This was a great concern for all street vendors. The police raids were a constant fear and threat to street vendors. In 1994, Al-Ahram newspaper reported that the municipality attempted to "make Alexandria a prettier, more approachable place in time for the traditional summer season" (Sakr 1994). The main focus of these beautification projects was streets. There was an attempt to streamline traffic by moving taxis routes and bus depots. In Mansheiya, the government planned to remove "street vendors from Al-Manshiya Square, so that pedestrians can move freely in the street. If that occurs, the vendors will be compensated with alternative sites" (Sakr 1994). The struggle continued with no noticeable resolution (the taxis and vendors remained while one of the long-distance buses moved its depot to the Sidi Gabr train station outside of the city center) and in 2010, the issue of street vendors was a real problem. In many places in the city, vendors had commandeered so much transit space that it was impossible for regular vehicular traffic to pass through. For example in the area bounded by Midan Orabi, Midan Mansheiya, the *Suq* District and the Corniche in the nineteenth-century heart of the city, many of the streets became impassible by cars due to the shops which had expanded their displays into the street and other merchants who had established shops in the streets and on the sidewalks. During peak times, it was nearly impossible to walk along the sidewalks of Saad Zaghloul Street due to the numbers of vendors and their tarps filled with merchandise.

Although informants reported daily occurrences, I had never in all my time in Alexandria observed a raid until December 2010. As the end of the year approached, and the raids seemed to increase in frequency, I was able to witness many. After observing them, it was clear why they had previously gone undetected: the speed with which they

occur is extremely rapid, and once complete, the street returned to its previous state. One foreign colleague excitedly reported on the police raid she observed. Because she knew I was studying the vendors, she had found a safe place to observe the entire proceedings:

> I saw two police raids. One was near Shaban Restaurant at night [in Mansheiya]. There were fruit and other sellers. First, I saw men running and dragging tarps with junk on them. Clothes, underwear and just junk. Plastic junk from China. These men were frantic so I sat back and watched. If I hadn't moved, I would have been swept up in it. Then I heard the police sirens. Somehow the vendors knew before they heard the sirens. The news just traveled up the street. I saw three to five of them just disappear. I don't know where they went. They were just gone. Into alleys or shops or something. Then the police truck came and just cruised around.
>
> They didn't get out and arrest anyone. Then it drove away. After about ten minutes, the guys came back out and put out their wares. This wasn't on the main road but just off of it.
>
> The second one was on Saad Zaghoul Street about 4pm. There were tarps on both sides of the streets. I saw a man with a cart who had some kind of sugar cane drink. I just wanted to ask if I could have a sample of it and then suddenly he was gone. Then the tarps started going down alleys. After that I heard the siren but it was a long way off. They knew before I heard the siren. [179]

Police raids followed a well-established pattern. First, the well informed (usually youngest) vendors picked up their goods and began to run. They learned of an impending police raid either from watching down the street for the sight of a police vehicle or by being informed via mobile phone. As the first vendors began to run, others noticed and picked up their wares as well. If this occurred on a crowded sidewalk, chaos ensued as the vendors were pulling, dragging or carrying their goods and ran through the crowds to safety without regard for other pedestrians. Most attempted to avoid running over other pedestrians because that would result in the loss of goods and wasted time, but occasionally pedestrians were shoved or run into by fleeing vendors. In larger streets, vendors were typically seen dragging four foot by eight foot tarps of goods through the

[179] Interview December 28, 2010.

streets to avoid the police. These vendors disappeared into alleys, other shops, building entrances or cracks between buildings. Occasionally there were one or two men who did not run away. These were generally men over thirty who either were known to have a permit or who had come to an agreement with the police. These men were completely ignored by the police and they generally passed the time fidgeting with their merchandise but not making eye contact with anyone.

If the police caught any illegal vendors, they could harass them, confiscate their goods and/or arrest them. I never observed any arrests but I did observe harassment and police trucks with vendors' carts and/or vendors in the back of the trucks (presumably because they had recently been arrested). These men, who were usually the poorest looking of all those on the street, were put in an open pickup truck which then drove at a deliberately slow speed while a near parade of people followed behind. When I asked about any of these events I was simply told "big problem." The entire disturbance from a police raid generally entailed less than fifteen minutes from the first vendor beginning to run to a return to normalcy after the raid (but most likely additional time if people were to be arrested or goods confiscated). Based on my observations, about eight minutes after the start of the raid, vendors began returning to their former positions and within fifteen minutes all of the vendors had returned and finished reassembling their displays.

Since it was not possible to interview the police, the actual intent and frequency of the raids was unknown. Vendors reported that the raids could happen as often as daily, but it was unclear if the police were required to patrol the streets at certain intervals or if there were quotas on the number of people fined. Based on my observation, the frequency of the raids increased as the New Year approached and diminished after Coptic Christmas

(January 7). Just before the new year, I observed multiple raids in the same location in the same night. Informants also believed that there was an increase in raids to "clean up" the streets for the holidays, but I did not gather enough evidence to draw conclusions about the patterns of the raids throughout the year in general. In the eyes of the vendors, the timing of the raids was seen as capricious (and even punitive). They reported that the rules and punishments were doled out at the whim of the individual police officer.

Not everyone thought it was bad for the government to be cleaning the street. One upwardly mobile middle class woman confided her opinion about the police raids:

> The municipality is not all wrong. Vendors clog up the street and make it impossible to pass.[180]

Other middle class informants felt that the government was only concerned with the image of the city and was not engaged in solving the underlying problems. There was little discussion about what the underlying problems were or how to solve them, but they generally agreed that the police raids were not effective in curbing vending in the streets or improving the image of the city. There was some sympathy for the plight of the street vendors who, many in the middle class believed, were being unfairly targeted by the police, and had few other options to support their families, but there was also a frustration in the municipality's inability to effectively control the vendors from invading traffic space and making roads impassible.

A twenty-eight year old male vendor who was selling clothing from a tarp in Saad Zaghloul Street explained how the police raids work. The tarp was set up in the traffic area of the street beyond the parked cars. Like other young vendors, he spent the entire

[180] Interview December 27, 2010.

interview looking down the street in the direction where traffic (and police) would come from:

> I have been selling here on this street for ten years. Before this I was working in the fishing industry. Both jobs have positive and negative aspects but with selling there is always a problem with the municipality. I was not making enough money before so I thought I would try vending. I don't like to be fixed to just one job... To evade the police I watch for people running down the street. When I see some guys running, then I know it is time to run because the police are coming. The number of people who get caught depends on the day. Sometimes the police take goods from every single person. Other times they just randomly confiscate goods. Just one or two people lose their goods. If your goods are confiscated, then you have to go to the government office and pay a fine. The amount depends on the policeman and the day. Sometimes he just says 300 pounds[181] for the whole thing. Other times he itemizes 2 or 3 pounds[182] for each item. There is no difference in the business except that the municipality is worse now. [183]

The police raids were considered the primary reason why women should not participate in street vending. One vendor explained that it would be too difficult for a woman to physically run away with her goods for a police raid. [184] A thirty year old man who sold shoes from a cabinet adjacent to Saad Zaghloul Street explained his opinion why there were not female street vendors:

> For women, it is better for them to work inside. It is our tradition and there is more security. For me, as a man, it is easier to deal with people and problems in the street. For shops, sometimes women own the shop and then they can have several female employees. [185]

The reasoning that police raids caused vending to be unsuitable for women was problematic because the women who worked in *suq*s such as Cleopatra *Suq* faced the same legal insecurity and risk of police raids as the downtown street vendors. They had

[181] About $5US in 2010.
[182] About $0.50US in 2010.
[183] Interview January 6, 2011.
[184] Interview January 6, 2011.
[185] Interview January 6, 2011.

neither permits to vend nor rights to the space they were using. But selling vegetables or poultry in a *suq* was considered an acceptable option for poor women.

Both the legal and economic insecurity preoccupied vendors. This created a significantly different mood than in the malls. Since malls were often staffed by wage employees, there was less stress about selling as much in comparison with the vendors whose entire income was based on the profits of each item sold. Shop workers might earn a commission, but still had the benefit of a base salary. For mall shop owners, the cost of rent, utilities and employees also factored into the profits to be made, whereas for the street vendors whose only over head was the cost of the merchandise, the revenue from selling goods was more directly related to his/her profits. Thus, for street vendors selling was an all-or-nothing venture which could easily be thwarted by confiscation of goods by police.

Consumer Insecurity

In addition to the insecurities facing merchants, shoppers on the street also faced a number of uncertainties. Outside of the proper shops, customers lacked consumer rights associated with well established businesses. Due to the illegal nature of street vending, customers had even less recourse against unfair practices than in shopping malls and legitimate street front shops. There were no guarantees about product safety or non-toxicity of components, nor any policies about returning defective merchandise. In traditional merchandising, customers established long-term relationships with retailers. This provided customers with some level of consumer protection because if the merchandise was defective, it affected the retailer's reputation. Because street vending was not based on long-term relationships, customers had few options if something went

wrong. The transitory nature of street vending meant that customers could not rely on consistent supplies of goods or reliable quality standards.

All of these difficulties and forms of insecurity reinforced the idea that the street was a man's world. The need for women to stay at home or to be separated from men was never given as a reason why vending was inappropriate for women. Men were considered more equipped to handle harsh situations and the problems of the street. There were no legal barriers to women entering street vending, but there were a number of disadvantages, no great advantages, and a perception that this type of work was unsuitable for women. Furthermore, the low status of street vendors was most likely doubly demeaning for women because it meant that not only was she engaged in a low status job, but it also had no separation from low(er) status men. The disadvantages were clear: low pay, increasing competition, standing outside in the weather, and being subject to police raids.[186] The lack of status and low pay did not incentivize women to enter this business. The number of issues which vendors must fight against reinforced the idea that this was a man's job.

Conclusion

Arguments suggested that shopping malls were preferred over street shopping because they were idyllic spaces where women had the freedom to mix with men if they wanted in social spaces or be separated from them in clothing stores, and where people were well behaved, and one's status could be affirmed or elevated. A more compelling argument is that the downtown street was vilified, not as a place which was inhospitable

[186] Since there were almost no female street vendors, it is unknown whether they would be subject to sexual harassment as well. None of the female vendors in Cleopatra *Suq* mentioned harassment. All were middle aged or older.

to women, but one which was insecure (in a variety of different ways). It appears that the lack of security was the real reason that downtown was considered not female-friendly. In the case of the *suq* vendor versus the street vendor, women were present in the *suqs* but not in the city center streets. Both types of vendors were subject to the same hassles, but in the *suq*, women were part of an established retail location and thus more secure than selling from sidewalks on Saad Zaghloul Street. Similarly, female workers were best represented in the formal shops which were more physically secure than standing on the street and more legally secure because they were legitimate businesses. It was most likely the potential for hazards such as bankruptcy, confiscation of goods, enduring harsh weather, sexual harassment that made street vending a male-profession rather than the actual difficulty of the job.

For female shoppers, the most concerning forms of insecurity were those of their physical safety and reputation. The city streets presented far more dangers than the secluded mall including a higher risk of being victimized by crime, being sexually harassed, being involved in traffic accidents, or being caught in bad weather. These risks (except for sexual harassment) equally affected men, but potential assaults to a reputation disproportionately affected women. The lack of security personnel or any other filters meant that men, of any class, could harass and demean women on the streets. It was being the recipient of these "low-class behaviors" that women wished to be separated from. Additionally, a woman's reputation could be tarnished by inappropriate mingling with strange men, especially "low-class" men. This too was more available on the street. In addition to physical and moral security, street shoppers were also negatively affected by consumer insecurity and the lack of guarantees.

There were a number of inconsistencies in how people thought about gender and retail space in downtown Alexandria. Upper-middle and upper-class people maligned downtown as having deteriorated and being filled with cheap knock-off goods. The shopping mall's desirability was defined in contrast to the hardships and lack of security found on the street, and women expressed a preference for spaces which were upscale and exclusive. Yet, women of all classes continued to patronize downtown shopping. In fact, at night, after normal business hours, when the people on the street would more likely be shopping than attending business, women appeared in higher percentages than during the day. This implied that even though downtown was criticized by the upwardly mobile population and said to be dying, it remained an important shopping space in the city. For the middle- and lower-class population, downtown provided a different kind of modern retail experience. The low prices and variety of retail options offered less affluent people opportunities to participate in consumer culture and be integrated into the global economy through their access to these goods. The malls were considered ideal places for women and the street was adverse, but just as in premodern times where avoiding public appearance was considered ideal, women were actively engaged in the "public" retail sphere even against the ideal.

The second inconsistency centered on gender mixing. There were differing opinions about whether the city center was more gender integrated than the malls. In fact, the amount of gender integration varied by retail type even within the city center. The shops, a remnant of the cosmopolitan era, were the most gender-mixed retail type in the city, but also the place which had the highest percentage of shops where men did not have to mix with women. As shopping in general adapted to accommodate women, they

did so at the expense of exclusive male spaces. When gendered merchandise was sold in downtown *suqs*, it was usually specialized for a single gender. Similarly, the street vendors typically sold only goods for one gender. These vendors were almost exclusively male. Also in the *suqs*, men dominated the workforce, but there was still a significant number of female employees in the Women's *Suq*. The one common theme was the gender distribution of people working in retail. The shop owners were male[187] and the women who worked in shops were young and presumably unmarried. In the *suqs* (including food markets), women vendors were generally near the end of their child-bearing years or older. Thus in the formal shops, there was more gender mixing of merchandise than among street vendors and *suq* vendors. There were similar rates of female employment among workers at fixed locations (formal shops and *suqs* with shops) throughout the city but mobile vending remained male dominated.

The third inconsistency was in the definition of the appropriateness of vending for women. Street vending was believed to be a man's job because it demanded a tough personality and the ability to run away from police. Yet there were a noticeable number of women who sold goods from markets, particularly food markets. In some *suqs*, the female vendors faced the same risks of police raids as on Saad Zaghloul Street, and all *suq* vendors (outside of shops) faced the same harsh environment which included standing up to weather and rude or manipulative customers. Thus, the justification that women were not tough enough for vending was completely unfounded.

[187] There may have been female shop owners but I did not meet any nor did anyone mention any. Nor did informants discuss any reason why women could not be shop owners.

Figure 7.1 - Vendors selling in the street at the edge of Mansheiya Plaza. The street is completely impassible in the evening when vendors set up. The vendor in the center of the photo is one of the few wearing a galabeya (2011).

Figure 7.2 - Foreground: Two vendors evade police while dragging their wares on a tarp in Saad Zaghloul Street in traffic. Background: another pair of vendors begin to remove their merchandise from the street before the police arrive (the police car was not yet visible at the moment when this picture was taken) (2010).

Table 7.1 – Shoppers on the Main Shopping Streets, by Gender.

	Male	Female	Total	Percent female
Saad Zaghloul St – Day	744	418	1162	36%
Saad Zaghloul St – Night	966	736	1702	43%
Safiyya Zaghloul St – Day	444	158	602	26%
Safiyya Zaghloul St – Night	2659	1080	3739	29%

Table 7.2 – Gender of Merchandise by Retail Type.

	Exclusively Male	Percent	Exclusively Female	Percent	Children	Both	Percent	Non-Gendered	Total Shops	Percent Female	Ratio of Male to Female Goods 1:
Small Malls	20	13.51%	93	62.84%	10	6	4.05%	19	148	66.89%	4.7
International Style Malls	77	14.69%	236	45.04%	38	76	14.50%	97	524	59.54%	3.1
Shopping Street (Saad Zaghloul)	36	24.00%	46	30.67%	8	37	24.67%	23	150	55.33%	1.3
Suqs	No data										
Street Vendors	No data										

Table 7.3 – Gender of Retail Workers by Retail Type.

	Total Male	Percent Male	Total Female	Percent Female	Total	Ratio Female to Male 1:
Small Malls	104	46.22%	122	54.22%	225	0.9
International-style Malls	607	64.51%	334	35.49%	941	1.8
Shopping Street (Saad Zaghloul)	243	65.15%	130	34.85%	373	1.9
Suqs	676	88.48%	82	10.73%	764	8.2
Street Vendors	1698	97.98%	35	2.02%	1733	48.5

Table 7.4 – Gender of Workers on Saad Zaghloul Street Shops.

	Number	Percentage
Both Male & Female Workers	90	32.49%
Female-only Workers	32	11.55%
Male-only Workers	153	55.23%
Women Workers in Female Shop	14	5.05%
Male Workers in Male Shop	51	18.41%
Total Shops	277	

Table 7.5 – Gender of Vendors in *Suqs*.

Name of *Suq*	Total Vendors	Female Vendors	Percent Female
Zinqat Al-Sittat	72	20	28%
Zinqat Al-Sittat[188]	32	7	22%
Next to Zinqat	22	0	0%
Cleopatra Market	55	9	16%
Midan Street Market	391	31	8%
Book Market @ Nebi Daniel	34	0	0%
Near Zinqat	140	3	2%
Total	746	70	9%

[188] Second survey reports significantly lower numbers due to shops being closed for the holidays.

Table 7.6 – Gender of Mobile Vendors.

Location	Average Total Vendors	Average Female Vendors	Average Percent Female
Safiyya Zaghloul Street	22.5	0	0%
Nebi Daniel Street	20	0.5	3%
Noubar Street	41.75	1	2%
Saad Zaghloul Street	48	0.52	1%
Totals (not average)	1458	18	1%

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Gender Mixing

The intention of this dissertation is to examine how the retail environment of Alexandria responded to its citizens' desires to be modern and globalized in an environment which was polarizing and to do so through the lens of gender. In a country which was experiencing a religious (Islamic) revival and producing more and more conservative rhetoric, Egypt was also becoming more and more modern, especially where it concerned women. Women took more visible jobs and constituted a majority of the students in Alexandria's public universities. First, it is important to reiterate that the Egyptian people, in general, were quite proud of the gender integration and women's inclusion in increasing sectors of society. Even in the shops selling "Islamic" clothing for the most modest Muslim women, people were defensive about any suggestion that men and women were not well integrated in Egyptian society. Second, this pride in integration occurred along side calls for increased gender segregation and an interpretation that Islam required (nonrelated) men and women to have separate lives. Third, even with desires to be modern, women were expected to remain chaste and not to date. Thus, there was a tension between being modern and being virtuous, and the issue of gender mixing was key to this discussion. This chapter will summarize the findings about how much gender

mixing was occurring and examine how that affected / was affected by views of modernity.

Men's and Women's Shops

The heart of the city was indeed cosmopolitan in that it had the highest rates of men's and women's combined shops of any retail type in the city. It was also the area which was most evenly distributed between men's, women's, mixed, and nongendered goods. Both the *suqs*, which were older, and the malls, which were newer, were less integrated than the shops in Saad Zaghoul Street because they had more shops specializing in either men's or women's goods. On the other hand, *suqs*, the oldest type of retail, tended to sell a single category such as food, silver, linens, plastic housewares, or toys, and with the exception of the Women's *Suq*, most *suqs* were not specifically gendered. The malls, and especially the small malls, included higher rates of stores selling women's goods and of selling only women's merchandise.

Gender Mixing for Workers

Large international-style malls hired considerable numbers of people which included a significant portion of women, but the highest rate of female employment occurred in the small malls where on average, more than half of the shopkeepers were female. Also in the small malls, women were most likely to work only with other women. The opposite situation occurred in the central city. Both in the shops on Saad Zaghoul Street and in the Women's *Suq*, women were more likely to work with men. However, in the central business district men were more likely to work without women. Street vending

was almost exclusively a male occupation and there were no men and women who worked together selling on the street.

It appeared that the men were the first to enter new forms of retail and that slowly women were able to make inroads. For example, in the international style malls, which were the newest retail form, there were more men working than in the older small malls. Similarly, men almost exclusively sold goods on the street and in new *suqs* downtown, while women were noticeably present in the established *suqs*. However, the argument is weakened by the fact that although small malls were introduced before international-style malls, new small malls continued to be built. For example, Falaky Mall, which opened two years after San Stefano (the last of the international-style malls), had one of the highest percentages of women's goods and female workers. A second possibility is that although business best-practices suggested that women were the preferred choice for hired shopkeepers, store owners were also looking for employees with modern dress, a knowledge of languages (at least for the upscale shops), and the freedom to work whatever hours were needed. Studies and informants suggested that male children were favored for education and clothing and thus young adult men may have been better educated and dressed. However the rates of female students and the growth in the women's clothing industry suggest that women were making inroads in these areas as well. A third possibility is that culturally men were better suited for these jobs. Men did not suffer the same stigma by working in public as opposed to women who were perceived of as lower class or less moral for working in public. Moreover, it was more socially appropriate for men to be outgoing and talk to strangers, as would be required by

a sales job. Fourth, it appears, but was not confirmed, that there was more pressure on men to be employed and thus a larger pool of potential male employees.

More likely, the reason some retail jobs had higher rates of male employment than others, was because of a combination of the above factors and a lack of capital for women. For example, research from the 1980s and 1990s suggested that female sellers in *suqs* were kept out of the more profitable fruit selling sector from a lack of capital. In my research, I did find women selling fruit, but in general, women in food markets sold goods requiring the least capital. In the city center, the street vendors required a significant amount of capital to buy the merchandise. The few women who dabbled in street vending did so with merchandise of significantly lower value and requiring much less capital. In the street shops and in the malls, a significant portion of the shopkeepers were also owners. Although I encountered no female shop owners, I believe it was highly probably that some existed, but men certainly dominated this profession. There were also no female cabinet vendors. This is another example where entrance into a profession (shop owning) required capital, in the form of money, loans, or inheriting the shop. Since small entrepreneurs dominated the retail sector (outside of chain stores and department stores), limited access to capital would be the most likely barrier to women entering retailing, as opposed to education, social pressure, or an unwillingness to gamble on new forms of enterprise. More research needs to be done to determine the relationship between access to capital and entrepreneurship for women in the retail sector.

Gender Mixing of Shoppers

In talking to older women, one would have thought that shopping malls were like well-lit night clubs where young people were constantly hooking up, but according to my

research there was little actual gender mixing. It is likely that the lure of malls for young men (and to a lesser extent young women) was related to the possibility or hope of mixing with the opposite sex rather than actually "hanging out" together. According to my research, the majority of customers came to the mall alone or as single gender groups. A small number of couples shopped at the malls, but it was unclear whether they were married couples (which would have been appropriate) or dating (which would have been inappropriate). However, the number of male-female couples was significantly higher in the malls than on the shopping streets or in *suqs*. This suggests one of two things. First, this could be because it was more socially acceptable for couples to appear in malls. Alternatively, it may have been because a mall, with its amenities such as movie theaters and restaurants, was more conducive to dating (whether by married or unmarried couples).

In all of the retail venues, women shoppers were noticeably present and in none of the types of retail did women comprise less than 25% of all shoppers. In the downtown streets, the average percent of women was about one-third and nearly one-half for all the malls. The rates for Saad Zaghoul Street at night were quite similar to those of the international-style malls. The fact that the shopping streets saw higher percentages of women at night when other businesses were closed implies that women came downtown specifically to shop. This trend was specific to retail and not characteristic of "public" space in general. The *ahawi baladi,* which were scattered throughout the city, did not see a rise in female presence. The traditional coffee shops were exclusively male spaces, even those located near the Women's *Suq* and just off of Saad Zaghoul Street. Thus, men retained certain public spaces while women made inroads into retail space.

Interpreting Gender Mixing and Retail

Privacy and Gender Exclusive Spaces

One thing that clearly set malls apart from other forms of retail was the increase in women-only spaces. In shopping malls, and particularly small malls, there was a higher percentage of shops that sold women's goods by female shopkeepers. While there were no barriers to men entering these spaces, they provided more privacy for women who wished to shop without having to interact with male sales clerks. Seen from a Western perspective, this would have been the natural evolution as shopping became more and more modern in Alexandria. In the West it was common for women's shops to be staffed by women for the comfort of the women shopping there. However, this was also a sign of accommodating women's concerns within society, which was experiencing a religious revival. As women became more visible in the public sphere, they began to demand more accommodation for their privacy. The best example of this was the Saudi women who campaigned to change the laws forbidding women to work in lingerie shops. After years of fighting for this issue, a ban on men working in lingerie shops was finally enacted. In this way, women were fighting not to increase gender integration, but to have segregation which benefited them. Similarly in Alexandria, women were able to express their own power and modernness by not having to shop in stores with men. Thus, accommodating more conservative spatial arrangements (i.e., more gender segregation) was a product of modern consumerism rather than a conservative religious-political movement. The increase in women working in shops, and the increase in number of women's shops due to more women buying more goods, made it possible for women to have more private spaces within the public sphere of retail.

What women gained spatially, men lost. The trend towards increased gender segregation was not a pull in both directions, but one in which women obtained more female exclusive space and men lost male-exclusive space. First, it appears that men's shops did not transition well with the introduction of the shopping mall. Many men interviewed lamented the shops which went out of business because they could not compete. In their place, new shops were more likely to include women's goods as well. In the malls, fewer than 15% of the shops catered only to men compared with on Saad Zaghloul Street where nearly 30% were men's shops. Second, even though a majority of the shop keepers were male, some of the downtown men's shops were staffed by women. Third, in the nearly all-male profession of street vending, these vendors were in constant contact with women along the street. This shows that there was not an increase in gender segregation in Alexandria, but a shift from male-dominated space to female-accommodating space in the retail sphere. Hopefully further research will investigate the feminization of space in the retail environment in Egypt.

Gender Mixing as a Sign of Modernity

The presence of women in public was considered a sign of modernity and a way in which Egyptians could show that they were progressive and like the rest of the world. For example, the elite coffee house was considered modern and was a place where (upwardly mobile) men and women could mingle freely. The *ahwa baladi*, on the other hand, was a considered a traditional space which was reserved for men. In the retail environment, it would be more accurate to say that modernity was associated with the feminization of space. Not only did the newest forms of retail (shopping malls) include more shops and jobs for women, street shopping was also becoming more feminine. Even

the realm of men's clothing became more feminized. Vendors reported that over the past two decades, women became more involved in choosing their husbands' and sons' clothing and that the woman's opinion mattered. Men's clothing not only had to satisfy the men who wore it, but also the women who bought it or had opinions about how their men dressed. Also, the increase in intensity amplified the female presence. As shopping scene began to fragment, new *suqs* were established. Vendors filled the streets, the raw numbers of women's shops increased, and the distance between women's shops decreased. In this way, a higher percentage of the overall space was devoted to women's merchandising[189] and women had far more opportunities for shopping in the city center. Thus, downtown shopping also showed its modernity through its inclusion of women and women's goods, as was common in other countries where women's goods dominated men's.

This argument may seem completely contrary to the argument presented in Chapter 7 about how the downtown space shifted from a female space to a masculine space where women were confronted with low-class male behavior. In fact, both trends occurred simultaneously and this is another example of the polarization which occurred in the retail environment. As shopping downtown was being feminized (though did not achieve gender equity), the street itself became more masculine. This was due chiefly to the increase in street vendors. The presence of primarily young lower-middle class men included a number of behaviors associated with them: loudness, harassment, staring at women, and crudeness. Whether or not the vendors were engaging in these behaviors (many did not), their presence and especially their class debased the area and emphasized

[189] A higher percentage of women's merchandise in comparison to the past, not in comparison to men's merchandise which also increased. Unfortunately, there is not enough data to determine the relative rates of increase by gender.

the male nature of the street, particularly from the viewpoint of the upwardly mobile population.

Separation as Key to Female-friendly Spaces

The trend towards a feminized environment was best exemplified by the shopping malls. The key element was not the mall typology per se, but separation or privacy. For the upper- and upwardly mobile middle class, separation from the lower classes and especially lower-class men was essential for sustaining their identity. Women in general appreciated how malls separated them from discomforts and unsightliness found in downtown shopping. Women also valued having separate shopping spaces from men which were staffed by women. Even downtown, women were better represented in retailing jobs where they were separated from the street, such as in small shops rather than in outdoor *suqs* and as street vendors. The primary evidence that it was "separation" rather than "upscale-ness" that feminized spaces was found in the small malls. There, women's merchandise, female employees, and women shoppers were found in far higher percentages than in the upscale international-style shopping malls. The small malls were not considered elite by the upwardly mobile population, but the similar amenities such as clearly defined entrances, architectural differences, and climate control marked malls as separate from the city and as female-friendly.

Entropy, Exclusivity, and Modernity

Entropy and the Lure of Exclusivity

The entropy stemming from the fragmentation of the downtown retail market, disorder in the streets, and multiple forms of insecurity, meant that in order to make

oneself distinct from the "downgrading" conditions, one needed to align with a fixed and stable entity. The shopping malls were stable entities whose professional management staved off deterioration and volatility. Superficially, malls were in a state of permanent newness. In the minds of Alexandrians, malls were defined in opposition to the shopping street. The mall was clean, whereas the streets were littered. The malls were upscale while downtown was popular: new/old, gentle/harsh, bright/poorly-lit, neat/cluttered, safe/dangerous, elevating/debasing, expensive/cheap, and professionally managed/individually independent. Thus, because the downtown area was seen to be increasing in disorder and deterioration, the stability and consistency of the mall was even more strongly associated with the new and the modern. Yet within this polarized climate, people, especially the middle class, participated in both extremes.

Class, Modernity, and Respectability

Shopping malls provided an important way to access the modern lifestyle and maintain respectability. Spatially, they were equivalent to similar spaces in the developed world which tied shoppers to the international community. Also, shoppers could reaffirm their status through the purchase of the same brand names found around the world. However, this definition of modernity was an upper-class and (Western) outsider's viewpoint. The small malls, although defined as passé by the upper-middle and upper classes, also rejected old-fashioned modes of operation. For all levels of the middle class, small malls provided the same benefits to them as the more prestigious international-style malls including separation from the city, security, better behavior, and more comfortable conditions. Additionally, the lower prices allowed less affluent people to partake of consumer culture and express modernity through their purchases. Thus, the small malls

enabled many in the middle class to access modernity in the same way as the international-style malls enabled the upper class.

Using malls as a place for appropriate gender mixing was far more important for upwardly mobile women than for the rest of the population. Upwardly mobile women were permitted a certain amount of freedom to mix with men as long as the men were equally virtuous. For them, virtuous meant having similar status and treating the women with respect. Thus, the shopping mall was an acceptable place to pass time because upwardly mobile women could expect the men therein to be of similar status or at least act like it. Non-upwardly-mobile women were not permitted as much freedom to mix with men, but they were also not under as much pressure to separate themselves from lower- and middle-class men. For these women, malls provided a way to feel socially elevated and enjoy the luxuries provided therein.

Modernity Defined by Both Exclusivity and Entropy

On the one hand, entropy (a tendency towards fragmentation and chaos) was pushing people towards exclusive space or the shopping malls. The desirability of shopping malls was defined in opposition to the chaos of the streets: safe, high class, stylish, and modern. It is clear that their exclusivity was one of their main lures. For the upper-class and upwardly mobile middle class, the exclusivity reinforced their identity and allowed men and women of their class to mix in socially appropriate ways. For the middle class in general, the association with the upper-class allowed them to feel socially elevated by spending time in a high class space which was separate from the urban milieu.

On the other hand, entropy made components of modern life more accessible. As shopping malls, both large and small, were built around the city, they expanded the number of physical locations where people could shop. Similarly, the new urban *suqs* and street vendors also provided greater numbers of retail outlets. Second, the wide variety of price points, especially cheap imported goods, meant that even people from the lower class had opportunities to keep up with basic fashion trends. Third, the increase in the number of smaller shops requiring less capital and the rise of the informal sector allowed more individuals to participate in retailing. Thus, the smaller venues, more dispersed locations, cheaper goods, and fewer barriers to enter the profession of selling increased the number of consumer goods available and the number of people who could participate in this aspect of modern life. The gendering of retail environment in 1970 – 2011 saw the forces of modernization and increasing consumerization lead to both entropy (increasing fragmentation and disorder) and exclusivity (for both gender and class), thus increasing polarization retail space.

GLOSSARY

'Abaya

A loose garment which covers women from the neck, to wrists, to feet.

Ahwa, ahwa baladi, awhawi (plural of *ahwa*)

Traditional coffee shops associated with the lower class but are open to men of all classes.

Baladi

Low class, poor.

Bi'a

"Popular with the connotation of vulgarity" (Abaza, 2006, 281).

Cabinet vendor

A vendor who has rights to sell merchandise from a specific location, usually an exterior wall space. The "cabinet" may take the form of a literal cabinet attached to the wall or a "permanently" constructed display space. Some "cabinets" are secured by doors, gates, or shutters, while others are simply covered with a tarp or sheet when closed. Many "cabinets" include lighting for convenience of shoppers at night. The materials used in the construction of the "cabinets" are generally, but not exclusively, inexpensive.

Carrefour, City Centre, Downtown

City Centre Mall is commonly called Carrefour after the main tenant. Downtown is a shopping center across the street from City Centre Mall. The irony is that

neither of these are located anywhere near the heart of Alexandria. In this dissertation the use of the terms "city center" and "downtown" are used to indicate the central city including Mansheiya and Mahata Ramleh districts. In referring to the shopping areas the following are always used "City Centre" and "Downtown Shopping Center."

Class

Upper class: people with substantial power and income. Although the 1952 Revolution significantly disempowered the upper class, in the twenty-first century there was still a group of people (although different from before the Revolution) with significantly more opportunity and power than the rest of the population. Many of the upper-class were educated at prestigious universities abroad or at the American University in Cairo. Their lifestyle was removed from much of the lower classes since they had access to a large army of servants including drivers, maids, cooks, and nannies. It appears that there was significantly more upper-class in Cairo than Alexandria. There was a feeling that the upper-class could get away with anything and was above the law.

Upper-middle class: people with enough money and power that they could live a lifestyle similar to Western standards with access to up-to-date styles, technology, education and travel.

Upper classes: this term is used to mean upper-middle class and upper-class.

Upwardly mobile middle class: a portion of the middle class which is defined less by their incomes than their aspirations. The upwardly mobile middle class try to be integrated into the global world by following international trends, learning foreign languages, and emulating the upper-class. They may be religious or secular, but consider themselves modern. This class may include middle-and upper-middle class people. They have a preference for white collar jobs even when these jobs pay less than blue collar jobs.

Limited-mobility middle class or popular-middle class: the portion of the middle class which is not moving towards the upper-class and international lifestyle. They are more likely to send their children to neighborhood or religious schools than foreign language schools. Their language is Arabic and their world view is mostly local. This group is gaining income but cannot move up in status because they do not have the markers of the upwardly mobile middle class. This class

typically dresses in the Egyptian version of Western clothing (more modesty for women, and more formal for men).

Lower-middle class: the portion of the middle class which is employed in non-white collar jobs requiring at least some skill or business acumen including mechanics, factory workers, shop keepers, machinists, plumbers, police officers. This group often dresses in the Egyptian version of Western clothing, especially the young people.

Middle class or middle classes: this includes upper-middle, middle-middle, lower-middle, upwardly mobile, limited-mobility, and popular-middle classes. This growing segment of the population has sufficient income and stability to be concerned with status, and trying to better their lot in life and their children's. Depending on their income and goals, they may be comfortable or cash strapped. Within this group, education is seen as a vehicle to get ahead.

Lower class: the lowest segment of the population often performs jobs which are dangerous, uncomfortable and unstable. They work as unskilled labor, as maids, in the informal economy, food preparation, garbage collection, as doormen (*bowabs* have a much lower status than Western doormen). Some of this class wear Western clothing, but many wear traditional cloths such as the *galabeya* for men and the *'abaya* or Egyptian housedress for women.

Elite, elites

Referring to upper middle and upper-class people.

Fellahin (plural of *fellah*)

Peasants, rural people. Associated with poverty and agriculture .

Galabeya, thawbs

The *Galabeya* is traditional male clothing consisting of a long sleeved, ankle length cotton shirt. In modern Egypt it is associated with the poorest people. Middle-class men might also wear a *galabeya* to pray at the mosque out of respect for tradition. A similar garment is worn in other parts of the Middle East. In this dissertation, the word *thawb* is used to denote a similar garment worn in Gulf countries but whose quality is higher and noticeably different from the poor *galabeyas*.

Helwa

Sweet, pleasant, gentle, beautiful.

Hıjab (pronounced *higab* in Egypt)

A head scarf worn by almost all Muslim women in Egypt. The Egyptian style of *hijab* is worn tightly against the head and neck and requires a pin or pins to be secure. The scarf may also be worn with a small cotton "hood" which caps the forehead hair and allows more flexibility in wrapping the scarf. The contrasting colors of the scarf and "hood" become part of the design of a woman's ensemble.

Infitah

"The Open Door Policy" initiated by Anwar Sadat beginning in the mid-1970s to encourage private investment (foreign and domestic) and private sector development. This was a dramatic shift from the heavy state investment and Soviet alliance under Gamal Abdel Nassar. The policies reversed the trend of nationalization of industry and some welfare programs.

International-style mall

Shopping malls which are similar in size, design, décor, and merchandise to malls around the world. They include modern cinemas, arcades, upscale coffee shops and restaurants, Middle Eastern and Western fast food (usually in a food court), a hyper-market, international brands, and a high level of cleanliness and maintenance.
Consisting of City Centre, San Stefano, Green Plaza.

Mu'adab

Polite, well-mannered, decent.

Mohagaba / *Mohagabat* shop

From the word *hijab* (pronounced *higab* in Egypt).

A shop selling traditional Islamic clothing for women such as *'abayas, niqabs* (which cover the face), face veils, and other accessories to comply with the most conservative interpretations of Muslim modesty for women.

Passazhs

From the French "passage."

"A *passazh* in present-day Tehran is a modern multistory building, usually housing a car park and served by elevators and escalators. It is designed with a good composition of light and color, and of course includes large spaces for interior gardens. The typical features of the traditional bazaar, such as the mosque, old-style coffee-house, public bath, are absent here. Instead there are cafeterias and fast-food shops. Shops are crammed with imported goods. Recent chic modes from Europe can be found in these boutiques" (Khosravi 2007, 93).

Popular

In addition to meaning well-liked or admired, this word is also used to mean "of the people" or "of the masses" and is often used as a translation for the Arabic words *sha'abiya* and *shaa'ia'*. It suggests things or people which are prevalent, widespread, public, common, and/or of low social status.

Sexual harassment

In Egyptian terms, sexual harassment refers to grabbing or touching a woman. I use the term in the American sense meaning harassment (verbal or physical) of a sexual nature, including unwanted sexual advances, unwelcome (repetitive) compliments, sexualized compliments, excessive staring, sexual gestures, and groping.

Sha'abi /sha'abia

Popular or lower class.

Shopping mall and shopping center

Shopping malls could be differentiated from shopping centers by the inclusion of entertainment facilities such as cafes, restaurants, food courts, cinemas and arcades. The shopping centers, on the other hand, had limited eating and drinking establishments and no entertainment venues. These shopping centers focused on including a large number of small shops compactly in a single building.

Safwa and Saad Zaghloul Centers are the only shopping centers discussed in this dissertation.

Small mall

Small malls are significantly smaller in size than the international-style malls and have fewer amenities. They are generally less stylish than the international-style malls and sell less expensive merchandise.

Small malls include: Zahran Mall, Mena Center, Wataneiya Mall, Deeb Mall, Kierosiez Mall and Falaky Center.

Street vendor

People who sell merchandise from no fixed location. They may sell at the same location daily, but at the end of each day they take all of their goods with them. Vendors on Saad Zaghloul Street generally display their merchandise on tarps on the ground, small portable tables, or portable racks. In the case of food vendors outside of *suq*s, they may sell from a cart as well. The term street vendor may also refer to vendors in *suq*s who do not have a cart, tent, or stall and who sell from the sidewalk or in the middle of the street. These are usually the poorest vendors. They often sell simply from a basket.

Suq

The Arabic word for market. Used in this dissertation to refer to outdoor markets in established locations. The Women's *Suq* or *Zinqat al-Sittat* consists of a series of small shops along a small alley. The shops are completely open to the alley and are secured by closing gates or roll-down doors. The alley is roofed by a variety of materials which help keep the sun out and are relatively effective at keeping the rain off of pedestrians and out of shops. The *Suq* District (in which the Women's *Suq* is located) consists of a number of different specialty *suq*s which are all adjacent to each other. Unlike the other *suq*s, most of the shops in the *suq* district have four walls and a door which opens to an alley. These shops do not meet the definition of *suq* as listed above, but the area is always referred to as the *Suq* District because they do meet the more general definition of *suq*. The majority of the *suq*s in Alexandria sold produce and food (fruits, vegetables, cheese, eggs, poultry).

Note on Arabic plurals: In general, plurals of Arabic words are formed by adding "s" rather than using the Arabic plural form of the word. For example: *suq* > *suqs* as opposed to >*aswaq*.

APPENDIX

Saad Zaghloul Street Shops

Table A.1 – Gender of Workers in Saad Zaghloul Street Shops.

	Number	Percentage
Both Male & Female Workers	90	32.49%
Female-only Workers	32	11.55%
Male-only Workers	153	55.23%
Women Workers in Female Shop	14	5.05%
Male Workers in Male Shop	51	18.41%
Total Shops	277	

Table A.2 – Gender of Shop Workers on Saad Zaghloul Street.

	Number	Percent
Male workers	243	65%
Female workers	130	35%
Shops with male workers	130	87%
Shops with female workers	68	45%
Shops with exclusively male workers	82	55%
Shops with exclusively female workers	20	13%
Shops with both male and female workers	48	32%

Table A.3 – Gender of Workers in Saad Zaghloul Street Shops.

Worker gender = goods	30%
Goods sold only by opposite gender (Women selling in men's stores, or men selling in women's stores)	18%
Shops with opposite gender present (Women's shops with at least some male workers, men's shops with at least some female workers)	70%
Shops with both men and women working together	35%

Table A.4 – Relationship between Gender of Workers and Merchandise on Saad Zaghloul Street.

Gender of merchandise	Exclusively male workers	Exclusively female workers	Male & female workers
Male	28	5	5
Female	16	9	21
Both	17	3	15
Nongendered	21	3	7
Two shops were closed so no data was collected on them (both selling male merchandise)			

Table A.5 – Gendered Merchandise on Saad Zaghloul Street.

Gender of merchandise	Number of shops	Percent
Male only	39	26%
Female only	46	30%
Male & Female (Both)	35	23%
Nongendered (including Children's clothing	32	21%
Total	152	100%
Shops selling gendered goods	120	79%
Shops selling female goods	81	53%
Shops selling male goods	74	49%

Table A.6 – Number of Workers per Shop on Saad Zaghloul.

Number of workers per shop	Shops	Percentage
1	47	31%
2	48	32%
3	26	17%
4	13	9%
5	6	4%
6	6	4%
7	1	.7%
8	1	.7%
9	2	1%
Average workers per shop	2.48	

Table A.7 – Shoppers on the Main Shopping Streets, by Gender.

	Male	Female	Total	Percent female
Saad Zaghloul St – Day	744	418	1162	36%
Saad Zaghloul St – Night	966	736	1702	43%
Safiyya Zaghloul St – Day	444	158	602	26%
Safiyya Zaghloul St – Night	2659	1080	3739	29%
Total – Day	1188	576	1764	33%
Total – Night	3625	1816	5441	33%
Total	4813	2392	7205	33%

Table A.8 – Summary: Gender and Saad Zaghloul Street.

	Number	Percent
Percent gendered goods	120	79%
Workers' gender = goods (nonmixed)	37	25%
Workers' gender = goods (including mixed shops)	52	35%
All workers opposite gender of merchandise (nonmixed shops)	21	14%
Some workers opposite gender of merchandise (nonmixed shops)	40	27%
Men/women working together	48	32%
Shops selling to both men & women	35	23%

Street Vendors (primarily on Saad Zaghloul Street)

Table A.9 – Gender of Mobile Vendors.

Location	Total Vendors	Female Vendors	Percent Female
Safiyya Zaghloul Street	28	0	0%
Safiyya Zaghloul Street	17	0	0%
Nebi Daniel Street	23	1	4%
Nebi Daniel Street	22	0	0%
Noubar Street	73	3	4%
Noubar Street	43	0	0%
Noubar Street	13	0	0%
Noubar Street	38	1	3%
Temp. Market near Library of Alexandria	18	12	67%
Total	275	17	6%

Table A.10 – Gender of Mobile Vendors, Averages.

Location	Average Total Vendors	Average Female Vendors	Average Percent Female
Safiyya Zaghloul Street	22.50	0	0%
Nebi Daniel Street	20.00	0.5	3%
Noubar Street	41.75	1.0	2%
Saad Zaghloul Street	48.00	0.52	1%
Totals (not average)	1476	30	2%

Table A.11 – Street Vendors on Saad Zaghloul Street and Midan Orabi to Zinqat Al-Sittat.

Total Number of Vendors	Female Vendors	Ramleh Station to Falaky Mall	Falaky Mall to Midan Orabi	Midan Orabi to Zinqat	Percent Female
77	0	x	x		0.00%
18	0		x		0.00%
105	0			x	0.00%
97	2			x	2.06%
89	0	x	x		0.00%
50	0	x			0.00%
89	0	x	x		0.00%
48	1			x	2.08%
117	1	x	x		0.85%
2	1		x		50.00%
6	0			x	0.00%
22	0			x	0.00%
22	1			x	4.55%
11	0	x	x		0.00%
8	0	x	x		0.00%
4	1	x	x		25.00%
56	1	x	x		1.79%
33	1			x	3.03%
73	1	x	x		1.37%
89	1	x	x		1.12%
20	0	x	x		0.00%
3	1	x			33.33%
37	0			x	0.00%
28	1	x	x		3.57%
97	0	x	x		0.00%
1201	13	Totals			1.08%
48.04	0.52	Average			1.08%

Vendors in *Suqs*

Table A.12 – Gender of Vendors in *Suqs*.

Name of *Suq*	Total Vendors	Female Vendors	Percent Female
Zinqat Al-Sittat	72	20	28%
Zinqat Al-Sittat*	32	7	22%
Next to Zinqat	22	0	0%
Cleopatra Market	55	9	16%
Midan Street Market	391	31	8%
Book Market @ Nebi Daniel	34	0	0%
Near Zinqat	140	3	2%
Total	746	70	9%

Shopping Malls

Table A.13 – Gender of Sales Staff in Alexandrian Malls.

	Green Plaza	City Centre	San Stefano	Mina	Zahran	Wataneiya	Falaky	Total
Total female workers	81	116	107	58	30	31	32	455
Total male workers	170	176	214	54	47	26	24	711
Total	251	292	321	112	77	57	56	1166
Percent female	32.27	39.73	33.33	51.79	38.96	54.39	57.14	39.02

Table A.14 – Ratio of Male to Female Merchanise Shops at Malls.

	Zahran	City Centre	San Stefano	Mena	Green Plaza	Watanieya	Falaky
Shops selling gendered goods	69%	79%	65%	81%	80%	89%	82%
Exclusively female goods	31%	40%	39%	54%	59%	63%	74%
Exclusively male goods	20%	13%	10%	19%	16%	9%	8%
Both male & female goods	17%	26%	16%	8%	10%	11%	0%
Ratio of male to female goods	1.3	1.7	2.1	2.3	3.1	3.7	9.3

Table A.15 – Gendered Relationship between Goods, Workers and Patrons in Shopping Malls.

	City Centre	San Stefano	Green Plaza	Zahran	Mena	Watanieya	Falaky
% Female Workers	40%	33%	32%	39%	52%	54%	57%
% Shops Female Only	40%	39%	59%	31%	54%	63%	74%
% Shops Female Goods	66%	55%	69%	48%	62%	74%	74%
% Female Patrons	40%	37%	36%	N/A	54%	56%	72%

Table A.16 – Gender of Shops and Workers in Alexandrian Malls.

Type of Merchandise	Gender of Workers	Green Plaza	City Centre	San Stefano	Mena	Zahran	Wataneiya	Falaky	Total
Female	Female	46	11	19	13	7	12	14	122
Female	Both	8	18	13	3	3	3	4	52
Female	Male	38	20	22	7	4	6	9	106
Female	Closed	22	1	0	0	3	9	1	36
Male	Female	1	3	0	2	1	0	0	7
Male	Both	1	5	1	0	0	1	0	8
Male	Male	26	7	13	5	8	2	3	64
Male	Closed	4	1	0	6	2	1	0	14
Both	Female	1	6	4	2	2	1	0	16
Both	Both	1	15	6	1	3	1	0	27
Both	Male	8	12	12	1	3	2	0	38
Both	Closed	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3
Non-gendered	Female	5	6	5	1	1	2	0	20
Non-gendered	Both	4	5	4	1	2	0	0	16
Non-gendered	Male	15	8	30	9	7	0	1	70
Non-gendered	Closed	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	4
Children	Female	5	2	4	2	2	3	3	21
Children	Both	1	2	4	0	1	0	0	8
Children	Male	4	3	1	0	2	0	2	12
Children	Closed	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
Total non-food / service occupied shops		194	125	139	54	54	44	38	648
Total female workers		81	116	107	58	30	31	32	455
Total male workers		170	176	214	54	47	26	24	711
Total		251	292	321	112	77	57	56	1166
Percent female		32.27	39.73	33.33	51.79	38.96	54.39	57.14	39.02

Table A.17 – Gender and Grouping of Mall Visitors.

	San Stefano	Green Plaza	City Centre	Wataneiya	Falaky	Mena	Total
1 Woman	39	30	10	44	26	57	206
2 Women	23	32	13	10	35	30	143
3 Women	5	5	2	2	4	2	20
4 Women	1	2	1	1	5	2	12
1 Man + 1 Woman	52	32	18	10	11	8	131
1 Man + 2 Women	3	16	0	2	1	0	22
1 Man + 3 Women	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
2 Men + 3 Women	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
5 Women	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
2 Men + 2 Women	0	5	0	1	0	0	6
6 Men	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
2 Men + 1 Woman	3	2	1	1	2	2	11
5 Men	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
4 Men	0	3	1	0	0	0	4
3 Men	14	15	5	1	1	3	39
2 Men	29	53	11	10	9	11	123
1 Man	101	114	21	35	23	65	359
Total	273	311	83	119	117	180	1083
% of groups with women	47%	41%	54%	61%	72%	56%	51%
% of groups with men	75%	78%	69%	50%	40%	49%	65%
% singles	51%	46%	37%	66%	42%	68%	52%
% couple (m/f)	19%	10%	22%	8%	9%	4%	12%
% single gender	78%	82%	77%	88%	88%	94%	84%
% mixed gender	22%	18%	23%	12%	12%	6%	16%
% women only	25%	22%	31%	49%	60%	51%	35%
% men only	53%	59%	46%	39%	28%	44%	49%
Total female	169	201	96	94	151	142	853
Total Male	291	356	142	73	58	122	1042
% female	36.74%	36.09%	40.34%	56.29%	72.25%	53.79%	45.01%
The sample size for City Centre is significantly smaller than other International-style malls because the design of the mall was less conducive to viewing large numbers of people.							

Shopping Mall Surveys

Table A.18 – Gender in City Centre Mall.

Merchandise	
Shops selling gendered merchandise	79%
Shops selling exclusively female merchandise	40%
Shops selling exclusively male merchandise	13%
Shops selling both male and female merchandise	26%
Mall Visitors	
Percent of groups with women	54%
Percent of groups with men	69%
Percent singles	37%
Percent couple (m/f)	22%
Percent single gender	77%
Percent mixed gender	23%
Percent women only	31%
Percent men only	46%
Total female visitors	96
Total male visitors	142
Percent female visitors	40%
Shop Workers	
Total number of shop keepers	292
Percent female shop keepers	40%

Table A.19 – Gender in Falaky Mall.

Merchandise	
Shops selling gendered merchandise	82%
Shops selling exclusively female merchandise	74%
Shops selling exclusively male merchandise	8%
Shops selling both male and female merchandise	0%
Mall Visitors	
Percent of groups with women	72%
Percent of groups with men	40%
Percent singles	42%
Percent couple (m/f)	90%
Percent single gender	88%
Percent mixed gender	12%
Percent women only	60%
Percent men only	28%
Total female visitors	151
Total male visitors	58
Percent female visitors	72%
Shop Workers	
Total number of shop keepers	56
Percent female shop keepers	57%

Table A.20 – Gender in Green Plaza.

Merchandise	
Shops selling gendered merchandise	80%
Shops selling exclusively female merchandise	59%
Shops selling exclusively male merchandise	16%
Shops selling both male and female merchandise	10%
Mall Visitors	
Percent of groups with women	41%
Percent of groups with men	78%
Percent singles	46%
Percent couple (m/f)	10%
Percent single gender	82%
Percent mixed gender	18%
Percent women only	22%
Percent men only	59%
Total female visitors	169
Total male visitors	291
Percent female visitors	37%
Shop Workers	
Total number of shop keepers	251
Percent female shop keepers	32%

Table A.21 – Gender in Mena Mall.

Merchandise	
Shops selling gendered merchandise	81%
Shops selling exclusively female merchandise	54%
Shops selling exclusively male merchandise	19%
Shops selling both male and female merchandise	8%
Mall Visitors	
Percent of groups with women	56%
Percent of groups with men	49%
Percent singles	68%
Percent couple (m/f)	4%
Percent single gender	94%
Percent mixed gender	56%
Percent women only	51%
Percent men only	44%
Total female visitors	142
Total male visitors	122
Percent female visitors	54%
Shop Workers	
Total number of shop keepers	112
Percent female shop keepers	52%

Table A.22 – Gender in San Stefano Mall.

Merchandise	
Shops selling gendered merchandise	65%
Shops selling exclusively female merchandise	39%
Shops selling exclusively male merchandise	10%
Shops selling both male and female merchandise	16%
Mall Visitors	
Percent of groups with women	47%
Percent of groups with men	75%
Percent singles	51%
Percent couple (m/f)	19%
Percent single gender	78%
Percent mixed gender	22%
Percent women only	25%
Percent men only	53%
Total female visitors	169
Total male visitors	291
Percent female visitors	37%
Shop Workers	
Total number of shop keepers	321
Percent female shop keepers	33%

Table A.23 – Gender in Wataneiya Mall.

Merchandise	
Shops selling gendered merchandise	89%
Shops selling exclusively female merchandise	63%
Shops selling exclusively male merchandise	9%
Shops selling both male and female merchandise	11%
Mall Visitors	
Percent of groups with women	61%
Percent of groups with men	60%
Percent singles	66%
Percent couple (m/f)	8%
Percent single gender	88%
Percent mixed gender	11%
Percent women only	49%
Percent men only	40%
Total female visitors	94
Total male visitors	73
Percent female visitors	56.29%
Shop Workers	
Total number of shop keepers	57
Percent female shop keepers	54%

Table A.24 – Gender in Zahran Mall.

Merchandise	
Shops selling gendered merchandise	69%
Shops selling exclusively female merchandise	31%
Shops selling exclusively male merchandise	20%
Shops selling both male and female merchandise	17%
Shop Workers	
Total number of shop keepers	77
Percent female shop keepers	39%

Comparative Data

Table A.25 – Gender of Merchandise by Retail Type.

	Exclusively Male	Percent	Exclusively Female	Percent	Children	Both	Percent	Nongendered	Total Shops	Percent Female	Ratio of Male to Female Goods 1:
Falaky	3	7.89%	27	71.05%	5	0	0.00%	3	38	71.05%	9.0
Mena	13	19.40%	37	55.22%	2	4	5.97%	11	67	61.19%	2.8
Wataneiya	4	9.30%	29	67.44%	3	2	4.65%	5	43	72.09%	7.3
Small Malls	**20**	**13.51%**	**93**	**62.84%**	**10**	**6**	**4.05%**	**19**	**148**	**66.89%**	**4.7**
City Centre	17	13.18%	50	38.76%	8	33	25.58%	21	129	64.34%	2.9
Green Plaza	35	17.41%	114	56.72%	15	12	5.97%	25	201	62.69%	3.3
San Stefano	14	10.00%	55	39.29%	9	22	15.71%	40	140	55.00%	3.9
Zahran	11	20.37%	17	31.48%	6	9	16.67%	11	54	48.15%	1.5
International-Style Malls	**77**	**14.69%**	**236**	**45.04%**	**38**	**76**	**14.50%**	**97**	**524**	**59.54%**	**3.1**
Shopping Street (Saad Zaghloul)	34	28.81%	28	23.73%	7	28	23.73%	21	118	47.46%	0.8
Suqs	No data										
Street Vendors	No data										

Table A.26 – Small vs International-syle Malls.

	All Malls	International-style malls	Small malls
Worker gender = goods	41%	38%	47%
Opposite gender	25%	26%	21%
Total open shops	600	425	175
Total open gendered shops	453	317	136
Men/women working together	19%	19%	12%
Shop selling to men/women	19%	20%	11%

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Table A.27 – Sales and Service Worker Occupations in Egypt.

	Governorate	Sales and Service Workers				Total Working Population			
		Male	Female	Total	Female %	Male	Female	Total	Female %
Cairo Metro Area	Cairo	178,424	146,037	324,461	45.01	2,549,073	2,485,408	5,034,481	49.37
	Giza	88,338	75,318	163,656	46.02	1,155,758	1,116,256	2,272,014	49.13
	Helwan	29,089	26,524	55,613	47.69	596,533	564,690	1,161,223	48.63
	6th October	45,026	48,163	93,189	51.68	884,992	803,846	1,688,838	47.60
Alexandria		86,098	62,712	148,810	42.14	1,552,911	1,499,678	3,052,589	49.13
Tourist Cities	Luxor	10,242	12,427	22,669	54.82	163,218	156,033	319,251	48.87
	Aswan	15,414	16,541	31,955	51.76	408,990	410,271	819,261	50.08
	So. Sinai	18,046	17,845	35,891	49.72	85,589	36,452	122,041	29.87
Total Urban & Tourist Areas		292,253	405,567	876,244	46.28	7,397,064	7,072,634	14,469,698	48.88
All others		1,056,503	293,557	1,350,060	21.74	2,549,073	2,485,408	5,034,481	49.37
Egypt Total		1,348,756	699,124	2,047,880	34.14	25,320,009	24,396,384	49,716,393	49.07

Source: "Population Distribution by Main occupations and sex 15Years and Above." *The final results of population and housing census 2006. Gov. Level Population Tables.* CAPMAS. 2008.

Table A.28 – Governor's Statement on Markets (Individual).

Quarter	Name of Market	Location	Frequency	Principal Activity	Number of Street Vendors	Size of Irregular Employment	Number of Shops in Market
Montaza	Darbala	Dedicated land	Daily	Vegetable	-	40	5
	Al-Thalatheen (Thirty)	Dedicated land	Daily	Multiple Activities	-	20	631
	Al-Tabiya	Street	Weekly	Mult. Act.	60	60	5
	Khorsheed	Street	Weekly	Mult. Act.	-	79	5
	Al-Ghazaly	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	53	90	53
	Abu Qir	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	25	25	15
	Al-Ma'moura Al-Balad	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	40	45	60
	Al-Mandara	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	13	30	21
	Cairo	Street	Daily	Vegetable	-	94	5
	Al-Harmin (Holy)	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	80	139	63
	Al-Halaqat Street	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	64	195	133
Total Montaza					335	817	996
East (Sharq)	Al-Sharka Al-Arabia	Dedicated land	Daily	Vegetable	250	250	150
	Zananiri	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	250	300	100
	Al-Qasa'a	Street	Daily	Vegetable	150	150	50
	Bakoos	Street	Daily	Vegetable	300	300	250
	Abu Solieman	Street	Daily	Vegetable	250	250	100
	Zarbana	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	65	110	35
	Yasir Al-Mouasir	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	46	105	30
	Al-Mouasir Street	Street	Daily	Furniture & Vegetables	86	165	75
	Dana	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	85	120	30
	Saladin	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	45	75	40
Total East					1527	1825	860

Table A.28 (Continued).

Quarter	Name of Market	Location	Frequency	Principal Activity	Number of Street Vendors	Size of Irregular Employment	Number of Shops in Market
Center	Wholesale Vegetable & Fruit Market	Dedicated land	Permanent	(Wholesale) Fruit & Vegetables	-	554	438
	Mansheiya Al-Nozha	Dedicated land	Daily	Vegetable	12	22	30
	Tura' Al-Farkha	Dedicated land	Daily	Vegetable	-	82	40
	Zine El-'Abidine	Street	Daily	Vegetable	32	-	17
	Nadi Al-Said	Street	Daily	Vegetable	43	-	100
	Shash Street	Street	Daily	Vegetable	-	42	20
	Al-Mir Ghana	Street	Daily	Vegetable	-	350	60
	Um Sabr	Street	Daily	Vegetable	77	-	5
	11th Street	Street	Daily	Vegetable	12	23	10
	Al-Amam Malik	Street	Daily	Vegetable	40	40	-
	Al-Musala	Street	Daily	Vegetable	27	150	60
	Al-Nasir Mohamed	Street	Daily	Vegetable	27	-	3
	Al-Andalus	Street	Daily	Vegetable	-	15	10
	Amacis	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	-	36	-
	Shedya	Street	Permanent	Mult. Act.	32	64	60
	Al-Munir	Street	Permanent	Mult. Act.	-	55	-
	Al-Khadara	Street	Permanent	Vegetable	23	89	63
	Al-Gheet Al-Sa'ida	Street	Daily	Vegetable	27	-	3
	Arfan	Street	Daily	Vegetable	76	-	3
	Misr Station (train)	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	-	250	-
	Abis 7	Street	Daily	Vegetable	-	-	3
	Abis 10	Street	Daily	Vegetable	58	-	3
	Mafouz Street	Street	Daily	Vegetable	62	-	20
	Al-Basra	Street	Daily	Vegetable	23	-	4
	Abis 8	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	38	-	3
Total Center					609	1772	955

Table A.28 (Continued).

Quarter	Name of Market	Location	Frequency	Principal Activity	Number of Street Vendors	Size of irregular employment	Number of Shops in Market
Gomrok	Al-Midan	Street	Daily	Fish and Vegetable	800	1200	300
	Noubar	Street	Permanent	Vegetable	120	270	89
	Al-Sanousa	Street	Daily	Vegetable	163	150	119
	Al-Ratb	Street	Daily	Vegetable	90	100	80
	Al-'Asafir (Birds)	Street	Daily	Vegetable	50	80	22
	Zawiya Al-A'arag	Fish Cycle	Daily	Fish and Mult. Act.	350	1200	300
	Mahmoud Fahmy	Street	Daily	Fruit and Vegetable	150	150	120
	Al-Ghazaly	Street	Daily	Fruit and Vegetable	58	58	16
	Zinqat Al-Sitat	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	10	50	80
	Suq Libya	Street	Daily	Clothing	150	150	340
	Suq Souria (Syria)	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	10	80	50
	Friday Suq	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	120	180	130
Total Gomrok					2071	3668	1646
West	Bab Sharka	Street	Daily	Furniture & Clothing	-	115	50
	Al-Imam Al-'Athim	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	-	100	25
	Al-Maqrouza	Street	Daily	Vegetable	-	37	-
	Al-Abdani	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	-	50	10
	Al-Mataras	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	-	430	56
	Bab 'Amr Pasha	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	-	70	30
	Al-Sa'a	Street	Daily	Clothing	-	115	55
	Al-Hammam (Pigeon)	Street	Weekly	Rabbits & Pigeons	20	20	-
	Al-Nakhil	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	-	30	20
	Al-Karanatayna (Quarantine)	Street	Daily	Fish, Vegetables & Fruit	200	200	-
	Al-Wardian	Street	Daily	Mult. Act.	430	430	56
Total West					650	1597	302

Table A.28 (Continued).

Quarter	Name of Market	Location	Frequency	Principal Activity	Number of Street Vendors	Size of Irregular Employment	Number of Shops in Market
Agamy	Al-Dakhlila (Exotic)	Street	Daily	Vegetable	120	120	48
	Al-Bitash	Street	Daily	Vegetable	-	60	80
	Al-Hanoufil	Street	Daily	Vegetable	204	204	86
Total Agamy					324	384	214
Al-'Amaria	Wholesale Market	Dedicated land	Daily	Wholesale Fruits & Vegetables	-	-	191
	Friday Suq	Street	Weekly	Fruit and Vegetable	180	180	130
	Tuesday Market	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	150	150	-
	Sunday Market	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	120	120	100
	One Day Market	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	80	80	18
	Sharbat Bridge	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	35	35	3
	Cattle Market	Dedicated land	Weekly	Cattle	150	150	-
	Al-'Amaria	Street	Daily	*	90	990	-
	Wadi Al-Qamr	Street	Daily	*	80	80	18
	Next to Al-'Amaria Hospital	Street	Daily	*	79	79	-
	Musakan Tourshki	Street	Daily	*	45	36	12
	Musakan Mubarak	Street	Daily	*	22	25	9
	Al-Amaria Bridge	Street	Daily	*	15	15	-
	Al-Baradwil	Street	Daily	*	13	9	3
	Al-Nasariya Al-Qadima	Street	Daily	Fruit and Vegetable	32	10	7
	Masakan Al-Nasariya	Street	Daily	Fruit and Vegetable	17	12	4
	Abdul Qadir	Street	Daily	Fruit and Vegetable	80	80	18
	*Listed as Cattle by ditto marks but most likely vegetable markets						
Total Al-'Amaria					1188	2051	513

Table A.28 (Continued).

Quarter	Name of Market	Location	Frequency	Principal Activity	Number of Street Vendors	Size of Irregular Employment	Number of Shops in Market
Center and Burg Al-Arab City	Suq Street	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	95	115	-
	Saturday	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	70	89	-
	Bahig	Street	Weekly	Vegetable	85	97	-
	City Suq	Street	Daily	Vegetable	25	37	-
Total Burg Al-Arab					275	338	-
Source: Directorate of Manpower							
Report Date: January 7, 2011							
					Number of Street Vendors	Size of irregular employ-ment	Number of Shops in Market
Total					6979	12452	5486

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